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ABSTRACT

This document reproduces the presentations given in a 1979 professional development seminar conducted for state officials responsible for education. The focus of the seminar was how the states can respond to the educational problems of the 1980s. Topics addressed include the overall picture of education in the 1980s, the implications of Proposition 13 and declining funds and enrollment, the governance of education in the next two decades, educating exceptional children in an age of limited resources, unemployed youth in the 1980s, the future of public and private schools, productivity in education, educational technology in the next ten years, the Brown decision and cultural pluralism in the eighties, international education from kindergarten through the twelfth grade, and action priorities for meeting the needs of children in the eighties. (Author/JM)

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The 80's:

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The 80's:
How Will Public Education Respond?

A Report of the
Council of Chief State School Officers'
10th Annual Summer Institute

July 25 – August 2, 1979
Jeffersonville, Vermont

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CONTENTS

Preface v

The 80's: A Prospective Look
Fred M. Hechinger 1

Proposition 13: Managing with Less
Stanley Elam 9

The Future and Educational Governance: Prospects and Possibilities
Samuel Halperin 29

Educating the Exceptional in an Age of Limits
Erwin T. Janssen 39

Youth and Work in the 80's
Isabel V. Sawhill 65

The Future of Public and Private Schools in the 80's
Nolan Estes 77

Productivity: Doir g More with Less
Harold Hodgkinson 87

Educational Technology: The Next Ten Years
Christopher J. Dede 103

The Brown Decision, Pluralism, and the Schools in the 80's
Harold Howe II 117

International Education in a Troubled World
James A. Perkins 133

Action Priorities for the 80's
Marian Wright Edelman 147

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Preface

Since 1970 the Council of Chief State School Officers has conducted an annual professional development seminar for the public officials responsible for education in each state.

At the close of a decade it would have been tempting to look back in retrospect to examine the major changes which have taken place in education and in society during this troubled period. However, in order to help them meet the demands of the 1980's, the state superintendents and commissioners of education focused on the issues they will face in the future.

Because the chief state school officers are interested in stimulating public education's capacity to respond actively, not just to react passively, they listened intently to the interpretations and predictions concerning the 1980's brought to them by distinguished speakers representing a wide spectrum of experiences and viewpoints. However, the major concern of the chiefs—and the purpose of the annual institute—lies in applying what is learned to the active direction of state school systems. The presenters elicited many thoughtful questions, well-reasoned disagreements, and perceptive suggestions from the participants about how states could respond to the problems which the 1980's will bring.

This report presents a variety of competent and seasoned viewpoints about the problems which education will face in the decade we are entering. We hope the readers will also find these viewpoints of assistance to them as professional educators and interested citizens alike strive to constantly improve the educational experiences of the children, youth and adults of this nation.

The 80's: A Prospective Look

Fred M. Hechinger, President
New York Times Foundation, New York, N.Y.

INTRODUCTION

The topic assigned to me is a tough one. A few years ago in the 60s I remember a similar topic, "The Future Lies Ahead." I'm not so sure that even that generality is true anymore. There's the story about the couple with a little boy. Three, four and five years went by and he simply wouldn't speak. His parents went through all the specialists, tests, examinations, all kinds of treatments—nothing worked, he just didn't speak. Then one day when he was about five years old the little boy looked up at his father and mother at breakfast and said, "please pass the sugar" and they almost fainted. The mother asked, "why haven't you said anything up to now?" The little boy's answer was, "I'm sorry, but up to now everything was satisfactory." That, I submit to you, in a way is the problem I see as we move into the 80s with public education in the United States. It may not seem that way to you but in many ways everything has been satisfactory and now we are facing some problems. I don't like to use the word "crises"—we are facing serious problems and changes.

Education is, I believe very strongly, in a serious identity crisis. It doesn't know what is expected of it. It is effected of course very severely by the end of growth. We all know the public reaction and the extensive discussion about the impact of growth, the fact that each year the record drops, fewer children enrolled. Then there is also the matter across the country that we have come to the realization that we have, at least temporarily, come to the end of growth but we have also begun to lose some of the limits of our resources. We are in the era of requiring to store enormous amounts of information—more information than ever before in any period of time in this or any industrialist country's existence. Much of it is computation without communication and in education more and more we have commencements without a sense of a beginning or a sense of direction, but with a sense of urgency. There is a growing feeling that equality is more related to a feeling of "me first" or that equality must mean that only what is in it for me counts.

There's much talk of communication but there's much more preoccupation with "self." I don't think it's an accident that magazines over the last few years have highlighted this concept—there is even a new publication that is called "Self." My own publishing company has since launched a magazine called "Us." I have sometimes suggested calling it "Them."

A "Can't" Society?

We have moved but education hasn't. We have moved from being in the eyes of the world, a "can do" society to what seems to me to be sometimes a "can't" society. It doesn't seem too long since my service in World War II in England, when the British forces and population looked with awe on the way the Americans would move in and get the job done. Those were the days also when on Presidential command, practically out of nothing, the United States was able to build 60,000 planes and then, more recently—again on Presidential order with some organization, the United States would be on schedule in putting the first man on the moon. Somehow the scene looks different today. I sometimes think on today's news there are more automobiles being called back for repairs than originally were sent out. These are the days that you hear of planes that couldn't keep its engine in place and if some of you think that it's only a problem of the hapless age of air and space, I want to tell you that we have recently discovered our latest model submarines are cracking virtually before they are put into service. These are the days when great sports arenas, I think one was in the Kansas City area mysteriously lose their roofs; this is a society that has always prided themselves on their engineering skills. And, of course, these are the days which confound even our most expert planners in the areas of energy. It doesn't sound very much like the "can do" society. There is a decline, as you know, in productivity; there is also a less noticeable decline in innovation and initiative. Sometimes you hear the question asked, "Why is it that teachers don't care?" Without arguing that point, I usually ask back, "Who does?" It seems to me that there are people who care about what happens—and as a result they have meetings. At the risk of opening a controversy that I would just as soon avoid, I'm quick to say in the interest of isotope structure that indeed this has been the year of the great debate over the Department of Education and whichever side we stand on this issue somehow the thought creeps into my mind that it doesn't really matter that much—it's really

organization without substance. This same thought also creeps into my mind, when I read every day in the news releases from my own editors about the competency tests that are being given all over the country. I have a slight sense of disquiet about this—feeling that because of the competency tests we don't want to talk so much about teacher competence. I must ask myself has there ever been really an effort to teach incompetence. I share the concern over the decline of basic skills that are important but I am more concerned about the basic skills that will be needed in the years ahead. I am concerned about the young people's knowledge of history. I am more concerned because in taking my own son, who is a member of the high school-age youth, to Gettysburg recently, I found that they knew virtually nothing about Gettysburg. I am much more concerned than I would have been if I hadn't in the last year or so served on the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies.

Decline of Support

Support of education has seriously declined. When urban budgets are under pressure, the schools take the brunt of the cut-backs. In a number of cities, such as recently in Ohio, schools were shut down for weeks or even months to save money.

As the population ages, support for education declines in the once school-minded suburbs as well. After World War II, when the baby boom was at its height, young couples with large and growing families moved into the suburbs largely in search of the kind of schools they wanted for their children. For them, paying school taxes was a personal investment. They were paying for the education of their own children. Today, those same suburbs have aged. The children have grown up. Many of the old people, who have no children in school, live on fixed incomes. They no longer vote to support expenditures for other people's children. Their own grand children often attend school in far-away places. In an era in which the *Self* is dominant, it is hardly surprising that hard-pressed, inflation-harrassed older people are thinking of themselves first, too. Schools are not high on their list of priorities.

There is fear, uncertainty, and a sense of loss among the American people. Yet, we are also comfortable. We own much. Our standard of living has risen steadily for years. And those who are comfortable don't like to risk change. They want to keep what they have. They want to conserve.

Since I have been asked how public education will respond to the present condition, I can answer only with another question: How will the United States respond? Education never responds separately or differently from the society it serves.

I would like to answer more specifically nevertheless by setting before you a number of what seem to me key points:

1. What will be the need? Without any question, there is the need to make less be better. This is a traumatic demand and a disconcerting experience. The American psyche is attuned to the idea of never-ending growth and expansion. The American view of life is based on the projection of more of everything. Given such a tradition that almost amounts to an ideology, it is difficult to face the new condition—of fewer young people, a slowing economy and limited resources.

Painful as it may be to face that reality, there is an alternative to expansion: a return to quality as the key ingredient of planning for the future. In education, this means we must organize anew for the teaching of the basic skills. It also means that, at long last, we must reorganize teacher training by taking at least a substantial portion of it out of the theoretical college classrooms and transfer it instead into real classrooms with real children. At present, if we compare the training of teachers with the training of physicians, we see the equivalent of having the newly licensed teachers meet their first patients—children—on the day they enter their practice. The time has come to follow the example of medical education, with its early clinical experience, its internship and residency.

Similarly, we must rethink the deployment of teachers. The early grades need to be staffed with far more adults—teachers, volunteers, paraprofessionals and bright older students—so that children will learn the basic skills in small groups, with constant reinforcement. Prevention of failure must replace remediation. It seems to me absurd that good private schools, whose children are so carefully selected that they would probably learn the basic skills under almost any conditions, perhaps even without going to school, nevertheless, they teach children to read in small groups of perhaps seven or eight, while public school classes are still trying to accomplish the same tasks with one teacher for every 8 to 40 youngsters. I realize that it may seem impractical to suggest a drastic reduction of class size when the pressure is all for saving money, but I do not believe that suggestion to be utopian—provided saturation staffing where it is most urgent is off-set by greater economies in other situations where large-group instruction or independent study,

reinforced by the techology (TV, tapes, computer, etc.), make this possible without any sacrifice of quality.

Crucial to the recapture of a sense of quality moreover is a return to a common core—a shared experience. That sharing must begin with attention to language: *The* language which is English. This means a re-examination of the concept of bilingual education, with an insistence that the goal to make non-English-speaking pupils proficient in English as rapidly as possible.

What Are the Basics?

The shared experience must include a knowledge of Western civilization first. This is not an expression of chauvinism; it simply reaffirms that the citizens of any nation must have a foundation in their society's major cultural tradition before they can and must extend their vision and their understanding to other cultures and other peoples.

It ought to be understood, also that we must, install these reexaminations and define what is basic. Contrary to the present popular demand for a "return to the basics," meaning the Three R's, I am convinced that much more that is fundamental to American society is also part of the basic skills. Is the Constitution less important than the multiplication tables? The basic skills should include an appreciation of and a devotion to a society under law, to human rights, to an understanding of human behavior and a knowledge of economics as well as logic, philosophy and, perhaps most of all, of the relationship between democracy and personal and public ethics.

The core we must learn to share should create a balance between ideal and reality; between the individual and the community; between ethnicity and the whole society.

2. We must not be dazzled by the prospect of dramatic changes. The tools will change but not all that fundamentally. The drama of the quantum jump of change is already behind us—the invention of jet aviation, the taming (or unleashing?) of the atom, the conquest of space, the miracle of television and the computer technologies.

The challenge now is to use these tools better, more thoughtfully, more constructively in the service of mankind. Our record is dismal. The human side of the equation has not been keeping pace with man's awesome technological capacity. Some of the questions to be asked are as simple as: Will the video-disc merely provide cheap home pornography? Will it merely put the same old textbooks on the screen? What will we do with the new technology?

Some of you may remember the most popular exhibit of the 1939 Worlds Fair—General Motors' Futurama. Do you recall how you drove through the cities of the future—pristine in their majestic beauty, all traffic underground, out of sight of a population surrounded only by lovely parks, uncluttered, quiet streets and unsullied air. Look at the cities today, 40 years later. Or think of the idealistic promise of "Atoms for Peace" and compare it to Three-Mile Island and the horrendous puzzle of how to get rid of radioactive wastes.

Now, we must teach the use of the new tools to enhance the human condition, not just the bottom line.

3. Consider the power of communications with their instant replay of everything that takes place anywhere in the world. No protest is too remote not to be seen immediately by millions. While we think, quite rightly, of the new power to inform, to provide information and to expose wrong-doing, we should not overlook the greater power to obstruct. Some of us recall that almost forgotten name of Mario Savio, the leader of the 1964 rebellion at Berkeley, whose slogan was that he would bring the university to "a grinding halt." He accomplished his goal. Could he have done so without the enormous power of the instant replay of his actions and words?

Utilization of Communications

The need in the 80's is to use communications more rationally—to enhance effective action for thoughtful reforms, to move forward, to understand, not only the image and the posture, but the substance and its meaning. This calls for a new kind of teaching. We must look beneath the surface and probe for the heart underneath the veneer. It calls for analysis and synthesis. In a recent report, The Club of Rome, turning away from its earlier economic concerns, analyzed the way in which human beings have been learning for centuries. It defined, and called obsolete, the process that was dominated by two factors: the maintenance of culture (which will always remain an important part of teaching the young) and the occasional attempt to move forward, to reform, and change. But in the past, the study said, the foreward surge was always brought about by shock. It was an emergency reaction, often panicky in nature (as in the American reaction to the launching of the first Soviet Sputnik in 1957)—rarely, if ever, a planned, premeditated step into the future. What is needed now, the Club of Rome said, is a new anticipatory approach to educational change based on what ought to be and of what might be expected to happen.

4. Education in the 1980's must make its contribution to bring about an end of the sense of isolation and the preoccupation with Self; the separation of institutions, the inward-looking stance of special interest groups and one-issue advocates. Perhaps most important, education must help to put an end to the isolation, first, of those who are successful in improving the human condition and, second, the isolation between nations, national groups and ethnic enclaves. One of the major tasks in the years ahead will be to create links between islands—islands of excellence and islands of despair. Part of education's role in creating a sense of shared goals and common experience is to close gaps, blunt antagonisms, eliminate divisions.

5. Education must help American society to move from litigation to trust. There was need for litigation—to put an end to discrimination, injustice and deception. Those who speak out against litigation as if it were a plot agaisnt their own rights overlook the past wrongs that needed so desperately to be set right. But no community or nation can live in a permanent state of litigation or fear of it.

The question now is how to rebuild trust in education. The schools must *earn* such trust. They must, however, also teach why public education is fundamental. They must teach individuals not only to take their place in society as productive and successful people, but they must also show the destructive consequences of the "me-first" syndrome. In this, as in all other aspects of learning, the schools and universities must set standards of ethics as well as of academic excellence.

The education establishment must strive to create a just society based on law and compliance with the law. It must create again the "can-do" society with growing rather than declining productivity; it must declare war on the "can't do" society whose automobiles guzzle precious gas; whose buildings collapse; whose airplanes crack; whose students avoid the discipline of the "hard" subjects; whose managers avoid the risk of experimentation.

More important still, the education establishment must work to protect the fluid society based on Jefferson's ideal of an aristocracy of talent rather than of inherited wealth and priviledge. It must keep alive the generous society in which people care not only for themselves but for others, and particularly for other people's children.

We will control our destiny, not by marshalling ever greater powers to say "no" but by affirming what needs support. Let the schools examine the reasons why Congress is suspicious of

the President; the people are suspicious of government; the consumers are suspicious of corporations. The temptation is to make government the scapegoat. Indeed, I see a ready danger in a growing coalition of corporate America and the educational establishment, particularly the universities, against the government and its often uncomfortable regulations. No doubt, some regulations are unnecessarily intrusive; no doubt, too, excessive red tape is costly, aggravating, and should be eliminated. But let it not be forgotten that most regulations are the consequence of defective self-regulation. The fact should not be obscured that the government is *us*—it is the only institution, apart from those we are actively engaged in, that *we* can control if we take the trouble to work at it.

SUMMARY

Ultimately, the years ahead call for two basic ingredients: leadership and confidence, and the two must become intimately intertwined. Action with the consent of the governed is possible only through the trust of the governed in the governors.

At the risk of repeating myself, I return to the basic message I brought to this assembly a year ago. Administer the schools, yes. Keep the wheels turning, yes. I realize that in this Proposition 13 era that task alone requires great skill and tenacity.

But you must do more than administer. You must lead. The 80's will not be easy on you. The problems and challenges I have attempted to outline will try men's souls and test your capacity to give public education a compelling new vitality. The enemies and the doubters and the Me-Firsters are all around you. The pledge of allegiance to the bottom line is heard throughout the land.

And so—you must defend what you believe. But more is needed than defense. The 80's call for a new pride—a readiness to march forward. Instead of plea-bargaining with the snipers, American education must show what it can do, using the new tools to rebuild all the lasting values. And at the foundation, the true bottom line, is the promise of opportunity for every child—rich or poor, black or white—to move up and ahead, judged only by ability and willingness to strive.

You are chosen to be the keepers of that promise. You have inherited the legacy of Jefferson and Franklin and Horace Mann and John Dewey and James Conant and many others who built the link between education and American democracy. In the 80's, that legacy will, perhaps more than ever before, be under siege. Don't retreat; don't compromise; don't be fearful. Work together as leaders and you will find the best of the nation with you—as keepers of America's faith and its children's future.

Proposition 13: Managing with Less

Stanley Elam, Director of Publications, Phi Delta Kappa, and Editor, Phi Delta Kappan, Bloomington, Indiana

INTRODUCTION

I would like to quote the concluding statement from Fred Hechinger's article that appeared in *Saturday Review*, "The Decline of Public Education" as a preface to my own remarks:

"Without a renaissance of educational populism, the pseudopopulists of Proposition 13 will squeeze the vitality out of public education, ultimately leaving the United States with two educational strata, rigidly divided along the lines of class and wealth. At the end of that road is the graveyard of the American dream."

I agree fully, and that is one reason I'm so wary of the latest proposal for change that is brewing in California, i.e., the so-called voucher plan. But more about that later.

With his *Saturday Review* article, Mr. Hechinger has aligned himself philosophically if not politically with John Kenneth Galbraith. Or perhaps it was the other way around. Anyway, here is something Galbraith said this spring at the Yale University commencement:

". . . What we are now having is a revolt of the rich against the poor. None can doubt that this is the meaning of Proposition 13: Two-thirds of the saving went to large property owners and the corporations. The services curtailed or to be curtailed—schools, libraries, recreation facilities, police—are those most needed by the poor. And inflation transfers the purchasing power of the aged and the thrifty and the poor to the profits, dividends, and capital gains of the already affluent."

I don't think we need to be reminded of the details of Proposition 13 in California, nor even of its ripple effect across the U.S. last year. As Max Rafferty used to say, "When California sneezes, the rest of the U.S. catches cold." At last the conservative revolution that Max used to preach and predict in California has caught on—with a vengeance.

While you know the Proposition 13 story for 1978, when it was a headline maker for months, you perhaps are not familiar with some of the aftermath in California. We have published a

KAPPAN article titled "The Untold Story of Proposition 13," written by Gary Hoban. So here are some excerpts from that article:

"For a year now Californians have been told repeatedly by state leaders that the public sector—and the services it provides—have been bailed out. For the most part, they say, everything is fine. . . .

"Wilson Riles is trying to correct that impression. In an address to the American Educational Research Association last April, he said the true story is not being told, and voters in other states are likely to make similar decisions without understanding the ramifications.

"More than 102,000 jobs have been eliminated from the payrolls of the state, school districts, cities, counties, and special districts. Summer school and a full range of adult classes—accepted as part of California life in the fifties, sixties, and seventies—have been cancelled. Libraries have closed or have had to go on reduced hours. Repairs and other maintenance have been delayed.

"Riles estimates that 11,000 education employees have been discharged as a result of Proposition 13. An unofficial census by his department shows a decline in total numbers of personnel in each of four categories. Administrators are down by 389 or 2.5%; pupil services workers, down 548 or 4%; classroom teachers, down 5,408 or 2.6%; classified support staff, down 5,042, over 3%.

"The anxiety of those educators who received termination notices in the spring of 1979 was no less than it was for the 11,000 who lost jobs last year. *And it is now becoming clear that staff cuts will continue.* In fact, the total may be even greater. The center has moved from Southern to Northern California. Last spring 2,200 teachers in San Francisco—half the total teaching staff—were given dismissal notices. The story was equally grim in the whole Bay Area." Fortunately, some of Hoban's information has been outdated. As a result of the efforts of Superintendent Riles and his supporters—particularly the advisory councils made up of parents—California has a long-range financial program now, I understand, with a satisfactory appropriation for this coming year, signed by Governor Brown without change.

DECLINE IN MORALE

Hoban believes, however, that decline in staff morale may be the most serious Proposition 13 result in California.

Robert Calfee of the Stanford Center for Educational Research found 70% of Palo Alto educators thinking that job dissatisfaction would lead educators to seek other careers and that many of the best would leave, since they are most mobile.

In the absence of overall data, anecdotes tell part of the story. Hank Nadeau, California's Teacher of the Year for 1978 and a runner-up for National Teacher of the Year, has admitted, "Yes, I'm looking [for a non-teaching job]. We all have to face the reality of the situation."

Diane Divoky quotes an outstanding teacher in the San Francisco schools thus: "For three years I've gotten a notice and for three years I've been hired back. But I can't go through the uncertainty one more time. I love teaching, but I can't spend six months of each year not knowing what tomorrow will bring."

Hoban cited many instances of teachers leaving education or at least taking other part-time jobs, both to supplement their incomes and to serve as insurance should they be fired.

ADDITIONAL LOSSES

More important than the plight of educators, of course, is what has happened to school efficiency in California. We really don't have hard data yet, for changes in quality are slow to show up in our measures of school performance. But we do know things like this: California schools are living off their resources of the past with little ability to prepare for the future. The State department of education survey showed that special education in particular has lost ground. In one Southern California county, for example, class size was increased in some 80 handicapped classes. Size went from six children to seven or eight, even to 13 in some cases. A state law had to be waived for that. In higher education, full-time enrollment in community colleges fell 9% last fall; part-time enrollment fell 40%. Talk of charging tuition (it didn't materialize) contributed to the decline, but the chief cause was that the number of courses offered by community colleges fell between 8% and 20%. State universities dropped entire programs.

Hoban thought that the coming year would bring even more serious cutbacks, both in K–12 and higher education. Areas most subject to cuts will be arts and athletics.

A year after Proposition 13, the public is confused about its effects on education. When confronted with examples of cuts in services, people assert that these cuts were not what they voted for and that budgets retain the fat at the expense of substance. In short, in the strange California revolution of the rich against the poor, the poor are being bamboozled by the media.

AN ELECTION SCOREBOARD

After the November elections last year, the *Legislative Review*, which is published by the Education Commission of the States (ECS), produced an election scoreboard to show what had happened to states other than California in the spending/tax limitation sweepstakes. We reprinted the scoreboard in the February 1979 KAPPAN as part of an article by Michael Kirst of Stanford University titled "The New Politics of State Educational Finance." I recommend the article to you, because Kirst offers a fascinating analysis and illuminates the impending clash of two opposing finance reform movements and their political networks.

The ECS scoreboard shows voter approval in 12 of the 18 states balloting on some kind of tax and/or spending limitation or finance reform. They were Alabama, Arizona, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Texas. These approvals were generally regarded as Proposition 13 fallout. Actually, the tax limit movement began earlier even than Proposition 13. New Jersey enacted "budget caps" for local government units in 1976. Colorado placed some limits on state spending in 1977. And in March 1978 Tennessee adopted a state spending limitation proposal. Some of the highlights of recent elections are:

- Michigan passed a measure limiting growth in state expenditures to the same proportion as growth in state personal income but defeated two harsher limits, as well as a voucher plan.
- Oregon voters rejected measures that would have cut property taxes and limited growth in local government spending.
- Nevada took the first step in amending the state constitution to limit local property taxes severely. It must be passed again in order to take effect.
- Massachusetts authorized differential assessments for different types of property.
- Illinois voters approved a nonbinding referendum favoring state spending limitations.
- Colorado voters refused to place a statutory limit in their state constitution.
- Idaho adopted a statutory limit almost identical with that mandated by California's Proposition 13. Because the University of Idaho Chapter of Phi Delta Kappa sponsored a poll to learn just what "messages" Idaho voters meant to send to the legislature, I want to spend a moment on the

Idaho story. There were some surprises in it, and when the poll conclusions were distributed among legislators and discussed with them, the result was a $36 million share for schools out of the $38.6 million general fund increase voted by the legislature.

First of all, 83% of the initiative supporters said what they really voted for was a reduction in taxes, especially property taxes. Only 2% said they wanted to reduce spending. Translated, this meant that they wanted the state to overhaul the tax system, I suppose. When asked what message they believed other voters were sending the legislature, the respondents were about equally divided between "reduce taxes" (57%) and "cut government expense" (56%). A surprise in the poll was that voters were not deeply committed to the 1% limitation. The limitation, with 36% support, ranked well below "Taxing residential and farm property at lower rates than business and utility property" (49% support) as a means of changing the tax system. Like Californians, Idahoans had experienced massive reevaluations of residential and farm property. Some property taxes more than doubled within a year. So the largest margins favoring the 1% initiative came from urban counties that had experienced substantial upward reevaluation.

Significantly for schools, 47% of the poll respondents said that if cuts had to be made, *schools should be cut least.* No other service was named by more than 11% of the respondents. The most popular target for cuts was welfare (named by 18%).

The Idaho PDK poll had a message for educators as well as legislators. The message for educators was this: People need a better understanding of the services performed by state and local governmental agencies. In particular, they need to know how those agencies are financed. Far too many people contacted in the PDK poll said: "I just don't understand how our state and local tax system works." That leaves us with a significant unanswered question: Can the schools teach government well enough to adolescents (who don't generally pay property taxes) to make a difference? I wonder.

California's Voucher Plan

Now let me turn back to California briefly. New possibilities face the state, and they could turn the discredited scare tactics of Proposition 13 opponents into reality. They are the voucher plan I mentioned, and Jarvis II. The voucher plan is a brainchild

of John Coons and Steve Sugarman of the University of California at Berkeley. Ironically, both of them pushed hard for *Serrano*, whose intent was to equalize expenditures for poor and wealthy kids. Dr. Riles speculates that, having become a celebrity because of *Serrano*, Coons found it necessary to do an encore. Basically, the Coons plan would allow parents to choose between and among public and private schools for their school-age children.

R. Freeman Butts in a recent *KAPPAN* article thinks that this is a particularly dangerous time for a new "experiment on our liberties." As he says, "I believe the future of the very ideal of a common national purpose is at stake, not solely with regard to public education but with regard to our whole public life. Privatism is in the saddle and galloping in a peculiarly ominous way, and a voucher system might just make the race irreversible." I agree. Coons defends vouchers ably in the same *Kappan*—in fact argues that his plan may well save the public schools by forcing them to improve. But I'm afraid he is wrong.

As for Jarvis II, I know little about it beyond the fact that it would cut the *progressive* state income tax in California in half and would freeze the state sales tax at its present level. In short, more aid to the affluent.

Proponents of Jarvis II are aware of the present public mood. It can be summed up in Senator Norris Colton's famous statement about his fellow senators. "The boys are in such a mood," then Norris commented, "that is if someone introduced the Ten Commandments, they'd cut them down to eight." Many pundits have tried to characterize the current era in American life. I like *Newsweek's* remark: "This," says America's second most popular newsmagazine, "is the Age of Less for More." Certainly there has been a shift in our perception of the future. Only a few years ago—more specifically, in the early 1960's—the optimistic cast of mind that has always distinguished America was: "Full speed ahead and don't worry about tomorrow. There's more where that came from." Much that has happened since the early 1960's has sapped this can-do optimism: First there was Vietnam, convincing many Americans that their country could no longer automatically have its way in the world. Then there was Watergate, breeding cynicism about our political leaders and some of our basic institutions. Former Representative William Hungate summed up these last 20 years very neatly when he said, "Politics has gone from the Age of Camelot, when all things were possible, to the Age of Watergate, when all things are suspect." The Arab oil embargo of 1973–74 demonstrated that we no longer had a special claim to the world's

resources. Now soaring inflation is eroding the long-standing conviction of most Americans that they can get ahead if they work hard. Ray Allen Billington, a distinguished California historian, has concluded that the 1970's were a watershed decade, the decade that future historians will judge to be the one in which values stemming from the American frontier began yielding to European values. He says, "We have reached the limits of the past type of life that we've been able to enjoy in this country." One of the major political consequences of this may be increasing governmental control over everyday life as scarce resources steadily dwindle—in gas rationing, for example, if the Congress ever gives the President a workable plan.

Decline in Birthrates

For schools, the phenomenon of our era most fraught with significance—both a cause and effect of the current mood—is the decline in birthrates in America, with resulting declines in school enrollment. I want to devote the next section of my paper to this phenomenon. Much of the material comes from a manuscript that Diane Divoky has submitted for publication in the *KAPPAN*. I shall not in all cases attribute particular words and paragraphs to her, but you should know that Ms. Divoky is my chief source.

After growing every year for two decades, the nation's public school enrollment declined by half a million students between 1971 and 1972, the beginning of a loss of five million students—11%—over the following decade. The decline affects 37 states. It was the end of the era of expansion and the beginning of the era of retrenchment, although at the time no one really understood the enormous implications of the turnabout.

For a while, much of the education establishment simply pretended it wasn't happening. Schools of education continued to churn out the same number of graduates. Some even lowered their entrance standards to increase enrollment, if it meant more state or federal funding.

District superintendents and state education agencies lacked enrollment data or didn't use the data they had. Sometimes they determinedly looked the other way. Long-range commitments to capital budgets and tenured staff didn't make the downhill figures easy to look at.

Initially we weren't certain what the decline meant. Some—I could name one of your members who wrote this in the KAPPAN—welcomed the new era with optimism, figuring that fewer students would automatically free increasing funds for

educational enrichment, smaller classes, and other improvements. The economic realities of the 1970's dashed these hopes. According to the National Institute of Education, in 43 states it now costs nearly 50% more to operate K–12 schools than it did in 1971. While the average school enrollment went down 2.3% between 1971 and 1976, the average cost of public schools rose 56%. Implementation of new federal laws for the handicapped and the bilingual, and desegregation costs—but mainly inflation and the rise in teacher salaries—mean that schooling fewer children costs more. Those are the facts. The National Center for Education Statistics reports in *The Condition of Education 1979* that public school expenditures rose *in constant 1975–76 dollars* from $47 billion in 1965–66 to $67.1 billion 10 years later. They are expected to reach $76.9 billion in 1981–82.

Taxpayers, tended to equate lower enrollments with lower taxes. If schooling costs so much per child, then fewer children should mean fewer tax dollars. But even without the built-in increasing costs of education, this proved a vain hope. Gearing down is certainly not the reverse of gearing up. Here's what *Compact*, the ECS journal, says: "An overall district loss of several hundred students does not automatically decrease the number of teachers needed, particularly when the loss is distributed across the district with only one or two fewer students per classroom. The need for support personnel—secretarial and custodial services—remains the same. It costs just as much to heat a building that is half full as it does to heat a full one." We're talking about the fixed costs—the overhead.

The new era brought new public relations problems. For example, the Salt Lake City superintendent who announced abruptly to an unprepared community—one with a strong investment in schools and neighborhoods—that a number of scholls were to be shut down, promptly lost his job. People must be educated about this new era, and it's not easy.

Those who have been in the thick of the decline for several years would agree on one thing: it's a lot harder to bring off well than it is to expand. The idea of decline is foreign to Americans, who link it with failure. A school system can expect a loss in enrollment to be accompanied by a loss in public confidence, even if the operation goes smoothly.

William F. Keough, Jr., a former superintendent who has written a Phi Delta Kappa fastback on decline, says: "In growth, the passage of time tends to balance errors of judgment in resource allocation; in decline, time compounds them. Growth holds out promise of career advancement; decline portends job consolidation. Growth encourages and provides for multiple

priorities; decline necessitates focus on only a few. In varied ways and for multiple reasons, decline management will challenge the most able administrator."

And to make the matter worse, superintendents and other top administrators have often been the casualties of retrenchment crises. So they tend to be unnecessarily cautious at a time that demands some trial and error, a lot of flexibility, and perhaps bold moves into uncharted territory. Bureaucracies are often more concerned with self-maintenance than with the purposes for which they were established, and school systems are bureaucracies.

Long Range Planning

The experts do have some advice for the years of decline. The first rule is: Don't try simply to tough it out, muddling through each crisis as it hits. If ever there was a time for long-range planning, both at the local and state levels, it is now. In fiscal matters, this advice hasn't gone unheeded.

By 1978 some 30 states had built into their school finance laws some cushion for local districts undergoing decline. Some guarantee each district the amount of aid it received in a prior year, others provide for some percentage of the number of students lost in a decline year. Minnesota illustrates a situation where state-level action began slowly, in 1971, when school districts where enrollments were declining were allowed a "cushion" in pupil count for determining state aid entitlement. The original provision allowed the declining enrollment districts to use the average of two years' enrollment in computing pupil units, thereby absorbing only one-half the effect of the enrollment loss. The next adjustment gave this district extra pupil units, over its actual count, equal to six-tenths (five-tenths in the three largest cities) of the difference between its current and previous-year enrollments. Subsequently, the option of three-year enrollment averaging was enacted (1977); in 1978 this was increased to three and one-quarter years. In addition, state pupil transportation aids were expanded to include funds for the student travel necessary for cooperative academic programs among local districts, as well as for cooperative programs in vocational and special education.

There were other Minnesota laws to soften the impact of falling enrollments. They are worth listing. Here are what some have done or are to do:

1. Increase teacher mobility through provision of extended leaves of absence with reentry rights, encouragement of

part-time assignments, and incentives for early retirement.
2. Promote experimental education delivery systems by permitting discontinuance of any grades, K–12, by one district and instruction in another "paired" district for the pupils in the discontinued grades.
3. Extend the deadline from April 1 to June 1 for notifying school personnel of their contract status.
4. Establish a uniform financial accounting and reporting system for all local school districts.
5. Create an integrated data base in the Department of Education, along with a management monitoring system to analyze and report these data.
6. Permit portability between the several public and teacher retirement systems.
7. Authorize the commissioner of education to provide public review and comment prior to any school construction in excess of $400,000.
8. Provide financial assistance to school districts hiring experienced teachers who have been placed on unrequested leave in another district.

Undergirding all of these measures was Minnesota's finance system, one that assigns the primary role in revenue generation and distribution to the state. Generous, stable, and predictable state support provided the base for confronting enrollment decline and mediated against panic-driven cutbacks by local districts.

Diane Divoky reports that Iowa is the only state with the political savvy to use the reality of declining enrollment as the basis for a successful overhaul of its state financing system. Iowa lost a greater percentage of its enrollment in the early 1970's than any other state. Officials there had the good sense, Divoky says, to predict the coming decline and see it as an opportunity to strengthen education; back in the late 1960's they created legislation that allowed the state to assume greatly increased responsibility for school revenue-raising without any growth in the burden of state taxes. Today the state treasury pays 54.6% of the cost of public education in Iowa.

The state also has a role in helping local districts do their long-range planning. Several state boards of education require districts to prepare and submit for review long-range plans for facility addition and use.

In New Jersey the master plans of districts must contain everything from environmental factors and transportation patterns and facilities to enrollment projections and resource information. And of course state education agencies have a

unique vantage point from which to generate solutions." They can develop reliable data collection mechanisms to forecast enrollments at the local and regional level; they can offer technical assistance and information to local agencies; they can pick up some of the specialized services that may be lost when budgets are chopped; and they can develop more flexible staffing policies.

At the local level, the only way to avoid what Keough calls Band-Aidism is the prudent use of lead time—not just six months or a year, but two or three years. The National School Boards Association suggests that long-range plans ought to look five to 10 years into the future and points to the Highline (Washington) School District as a model. Suburban Highline, which peaked at 31,000 students in 1967, is now down to 18,000, and will lose 3,000 more by 1982. It has closed 11 schools, with eight more—including a high school—to be phased out in the next four years. Every closed school has a tenant, the majority of them service agencies, churches, and private schools. The retrenchment is saving the district about a million dollars a year, and it has been done without serious public opposition.

EFFECT OF STAFF REDUCTION

High on the list of problems for any district to anticipate is the effect of decline on staff. A reduction in force (RIF) not only causes high anxiety and sometimes near chaos, but also has significant long-range effects on the morale and composition of the remaining teaching corps and therefore on the educational program of the district. Superintendent George Garver described the situation in his Livonia, Michigan, district to me last year. Livonia lost 26% of its 40,000 students over a period of seven years. In the grade schools there are very few teachers who have been hired since 1970. Garver said, "I see a very real deterioration in people's receptivity to change. It's very difficult to maintain the momentum, excitement, and enthusiasm that once permeated a growing system."

Although revised tenure laws do not usually protect teachers from reductions in force, districts are generally required to send notices of non-renewal early in the spring. And because districts often don't know how much of a reduction they will need (or how many teachers they can afford for the coming year), they are forced to overestimate the losses. Thus they panic more teachers than will actually lose their jobs. When 2,200 of San Francisco's 4,200 teachers—all those hired since 1968—got RIF notices recently, they showed up en masse for a week of the

state required layoff hearings. In the huge gymnasium where the hearings were held, the presiding judge sat under a basketball net. The teachers, acting as their own attorneys had a reserved section. Mention of Superintendent Alioto brought boos and hisses, and thunderous applause followed the testimony of complaining teachers. It is this kind of "circus" that wrecks labor relations.

Teacher layoffs have generally made their unions focus more on security provisions than on pay raises, and this gives some districts respite from demands for higher wages. But it also means that union-strong states and districts are under pressure to maintain or establish policies of strict seniority in dismissal procedures. Dade County, Florida, teachers, given a choice between generous salary increases or stronger tenure provisions in their contract, voted 2 to 1 for higher salaries. They are pinning their hopes on the legislature for protection against arbitrary dismissal. Both the NEA and the AFT support the seniority principle, of course, although a number of state legislatures are considering laws that would also take into account competence and certification guidelines. This may be the wave of the future. I have just received the Gallup Education poll results for 1979 this week: 85% of the people want the state to test prospective teachers before they are given a contract; over 85% would give state minimum tests to administrators! (Decline in credibility of schools continues, but it has been slowed down some.)

The seniority rule obviously works at cross purposes with affirmative action programs for minorities and women; it also means that school staffs will become older, more expensive, and—it would follow—more conservative each year. In New York City the median age of the teaching force went from under 30 years in the early 1970's to over 40 in 1976. Administrators admit that school programs, while stable, are suffering because of the lack of young and new teachers who traditionally bring fresh ideas and vitality to a school. Stagnation is increased by the greatly reduced chances of teachers and administrators to move up the line, given that there are fewer jobs up the line and those holding them are more likely to sit tight. Keough points out that when opportunities for advancement are cut off, motivation decreases, frustration sets in, and enthusiasm wanes.

Districts have tried a number of tactics to reduce staffs by stimulating attrition rather than forcing layoffs. The most common of these are early retirement incentive plans that allow districts to replace top-salaried teachers with lower-salaried new teachers. The plan in Pasadena, California, allows those who

elect to retire early to serve a maximum of 20 days a year in the district as consultants. In Chicago, where teachers may remain in the classroom until age 70, retirement benefits *decrease* past the age of 65, and retirement is mandatory after 38 years of teaching. Michigan's generous early retirement plan, allowing teachers with 30 years of experience to retire at age 55, has lowered the age of that state's teaching staff.

In a political arena that is increasingly sensitive to age discrimination, early retirement is obviously no panacea, however. Mandatory as well as early retirement may face legal challenges in the near future.

The Minnesota plan I mentioned would allow teachers to request a leave of absence for five years without jeopardizing their seniority or pensions. This would allow younger teachers to be hired and help motivate the fence-sitters to leave teaching. (A recent survey found that less than 40% of teachers who request leaves of absence ever return.) Another plan allows teachers to work half-time without sacrificing retirement benefits.

ESTABLISHING OTHER APPROACHES

In some states unions have been *unable* to establish the seniority system for dismissals, and districts can establish other criteria. Yet what looks like a blessing in disguise for administrators—a chance to weed out the weaklings—may prove an impossibly difficult task. A number of districts seem willing to give it a try, however. Glencoe, Illinois, has decided to make reductions among tenured teachers on the basis of performance, using these standards: academic and professional preparation beyond minimum certification requirements, effectiveness in teaching and related professional responsibility, and evidence of professional growth. Other systems—Salt Lake City, and Pahara Valley and Santa Clara in California, for example—have developed teacher evaluation programs that stress peer involvement. These serve to remove incompetent teachers even when there is no staff crunch, but could be particularly useful when it comes.

But even those districts that do not have to resort to layoffs as a result of declining enrollment will not be in a position to do much new hiring in the next decade. Older staffs will be the rule almost everywhere. That is the main reason why we are hearing more and more about inservice and teacher "retreading" now. Well-designed inservice training can help keep experienced teachers up to date, of course, and should be encourage by state legislatures and state departments of education.

The closing of a school has become the focal act in the new era of retrenchment. It is just becoming clear how threatening to an entire community a closing can be, and how complicated are the factors involved in the decision. More than 500 schools have been closed in the last five years, and often the business has been botched badly because of insensitivity to its ramifications.

A district in Illinois is playing it smart. Highly regarded New Trier Township, a district on Chicago's northwest side, is already preparing for the closing of one of its two high schools 10 years from now.

But perhaps no amount of preparation can cushion the closing of a high school, given the loyalties the institution can muster. Palo Alto, the prestigious California suburb that has closed seven elementary schools and one junior high since 1973, thought it had done its homework in preparation for its first high school closing this fall. It was preparing to close famed Cubberley High. There had been quite "massive community involvement" in the decision-making process and lead-up activities. Then this spring a group of citizens opposed to the closing took the district to court, asking that the decision be put to the voters in a referendum. The move was unprecedented, and so was the decision of the Superior Court, which ruled in favor of the citizens. So today Palo Alto finds itself preparing for a referendum while hoping that a quick turnabout decision in the appellate court will mean no referendum takes place. To date, no one knows whether Cubberley High will be a memory or a functioning school this fall.

There are those who have chosen expediency over community concerns. They just up and close schools without any short-range disasters. The minute Proposition 13 was passed, Alioto in San Francisco, used it as the rationale for closing nine schools and 18 preschool centers—before the local citizenry even had a chance to get back from summer vacations. He admitted that Proposition 13 was just the leverage he needed to do the dastardly deed. The previous closing of 22 schools had gone much too slowly for his taste.

Some school managers have become real estate entrepreneurs, selling schools for tidy sums. In downtown Ithaca, New York, the DeWitt High School was converted by private investors into a multipurpose mall containing apartments, shops, restaurants, and offices. In Orlando, Florida, a school became a hotel; in Pittsburgh, a hospital; and in Peoria, a bakery.

But given the politically explosive nature and demoralizing influence of school closing, they are usually a solution of last

resort. A recent issue of the *Executive Educator*, the new National School Boards Association journal, whispered: "Never, ever close a school." There are several alternatives to the ax. Keough mentions some: Different grade-level organization patterns in some districts have eased the one class/one teacher constraint on instructional flexibility. In Arlington, Virginia, as part of a retrenchment scheme, all junior high and middle schools are being eliminated in favor of a K–8 and high school arrangement. It's a way of easing the problems of decline for a few years. If the funds are available, districts can court new clientele for adult education and preschool programs.

The best long-range solution is sharing space with tenants, an old idea whose time has come. At the John F. Kennedy School and Community Center in the Nash-Washington district of Atlanta, described as a "shopping center of social services under one roof," school children share the facility with a senior citizen center, a day-care center, a public health office, a welfare office, a vocational training center, and other public and social service agencies. In Arlington, Virginia, the Drew Elementary School was built for 1,100 enrollment. Now the 400 students there share space with a police aide program, a senior citizen center, a youth job training program, an adult education program, a Montessori preschool program, and extended day program for school-aged children, a reading clinic, and recreational programs. The school building is open seven days a week from 7:30 a.m. until at least 10 p.m. and services residents of all ages. Arlington schools also rent space to an employee credit union, a local university, and a real estate office. One school has become a cultural center for the community, with art, music, and dance programs.

Most districts prefer to lease space to educational or service organizations or at least to nonprofit groups. But the Educational Facilities Laboratory (EFL) has asked: "Why not lease to for-profit commercial and business tenants?" The quick answer in most situations would be, "because it is against the law." But laws can be changed, and given the choice of mothballing a school, leaving it subject to vandalism and standing as a blight on its neighborhood, or renting it out to members of the business community, the latter might well be the wiser course.

This happened in California, when the Belmont schools lost almost a third of their enrollment. Belmont got the law changed, just as EFL suggested. Now the district rents surplus space in all its schools to a variety of tenants: an eye clinic, an electronics firm to house a training program, a telephone solicitation operation, a real estate office. The smallest school is down to 11

classrooms and 190 students. The presence of the commercial enterprises has already provided some benefits in career education for students, and the small size of the schools is producing unexpected curriculum benefits.

Some districts may flinch at the idea of exposing children to adults or to commerce in their school lives, but as Jonathan Kozol keeps reminding us—most recently in the July 21 *Saturday Review*—Childhood should not be a time of moratorium on life. Even a handbook of the American Association of School Administrators applauds the idea of joint occupancy thus: "It brings the children into direct contact through daily interaction with the out-of-school world in which they live." John Purcell of the National School Boards Association agrees, pointing out that kids live in families with all different ages, and they encounter profit-making enterprises every day outside of school with no apparent adverse effects. Why not in school?

Enrollment declines are the most tangible harbinger and symptom of our think-small era. The way we handle them will have much to do with the credibility of American education. That credibility has already been damaged by the achievement decline, by our failures to control student behavior, and many other problems—most of them connected, I fear, with the fact that the public has asked more of the schools than they can reasonably be expected to accomplish.

Survey—Legislative Support

What kind of support can we expect from state legislatures in the immediate future as we face these problems? To get some sort of reading, I surveyed education committee chairpersons in the state legislatures, house and senate, last month, using a one-page, seven-item questionnaire mailed with personalized covering letters.

The first thing I discovered was that state legislators are not very conscientious about answering their mail. Perhaps many of them tried to answer but found I was embarrassing them. Anyway, I got 37 replies (out of 112 requests) and have some data on each of 28 states. I also discovered that house and senate chairpersons often don't agree on the facts. (In nine cases both officials answered my questionnaire). Obviously, I can't give you a state-by-state breakdown, because of time limitations. but here are some of the highlights:

First, I asked whether the chairperson thought that, allowing for inflation, the costs of public education ought to decrease approximately in proportion to the declines in enrollment. Out

of 37 replies, I got 29 no's, 7 yes's, and 1 yes/no (the last said costs for higher education ought to decrease in proportion to enrollment declines, but costs for K–12 education should not). This response was encouraging, I thought, particularly because these officials were generally able to explain quite sensibly why they answered as they did.

My second question asked for rather detailed figures on enrollment—fall 1978 totals in public and private schools and colleges and anticipated totals for this fall and for the fall of 1984. Only about half the respondents were able to come with specific figures. Some had all of the details—New York, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Iowa, and Nevada, for example. All who replied to this question, except Nevada's senate commitee chairman, expected *decreases* in K–8 enrollment. Most of the respondents saw little change coming in higher education enrollments, except in private institutions. (New York expects a drop of 30.3% in nonpublic higher education by 1984.) Iowa expects drops in K–12 enrollment, public and private, of about 8.3% by 1984, and this includes a 20% drop in secondary enrollment (grades 9–12). Wisconsin expects decreases of about the same magnitude. Tennessee expects an astonishing 9.2% drop in public K–12 enrollment in one year, but a 1.5% to 2% increase in higher education. Most of the K–12 declines btween last year and this fall were expected to be from 2% to 4%, with the greatest drops coming in the early grades.

Question No. 3 asked: If new sources of state money for education must be tapped in your state, which sources would you prefer? I left three blanks. Income taxes (personal or business) were named first in 12 states, sales taxes in 8. Property taxes usually came last, but not always (corporate income taxes came last in Texas).

Question 4 asked the committee chairpersons to indicate how education appropriations in their states for next year compare with current year appropriations, at the K–12 and higher education levels. In all but one case they were greater. Even in Tennessee, where an enrollment drop of over 9% was expected, the chairman said there would be 10% more money for both K–12 and higher education at the state level. Only Nebraska said the K–12 appropriation would be about the same as for last year, but higher education funds would go up 7.25%. The largest increases I noted were anticipated in Nevada (where th finance system was totally overhauled), up 62% for K–12, 21% for higher education; Washington, up 36% for K–12, 21% for higher education; Texas, up 28.6% for K–12 and 21% for higher

education; Florida, up 25%, K–12; 22% for higher education; Kansas, up 18% for K–12 and 7% for higher education; Arkansas, up 12% for K–12 and 19% for higher education; and Colorado, up 14.7% for K–12 and 8.2% for higher education.

Where figures were available, the other increases for K–12 ranged from Utah's stingy 2.5% upward, with most of them around 6% to 9%. The higher education appropriations seemed generally to be a bit less percentagewise.

My fifth question asked what percent of K–12 education costs are covered by state funds in the current fiscal year (1978–79) and whether a greater portion would come from this source next year. There is of course great variety among states—ranging (in those reporting) from Mississippi's 96% to Nebraska's 16.5%. The median appeared to be 45% in my sample. Twelve of the responding chairpersons anticipated no change in percentages, but, significantly, 11 did expect the state to assume more of the burden next year. In only one will it be less. Nebraska expects the state share to slide down another notch, from the already low 16.5% to 15.8%. The largest increase will be in Washington, where the state will assume 80% of the burden, compared to 60% over the past year. In Idaho there will be a 15% jump, from 65% to 80%: in Florida a 77% increase, 59% to 66%.

Question 6 asked if more generous appropriations could be expected next year, which (I noted) will for most states be an election year. Some of the politicians seemed mildly insulted that I should suggest this, but a significant number (13) said yes, the appropriation should be up more next year than this; seven said no.

For No. 7 I asked what I considered a crucial question: If cuts in *state* financial support must be made for any form, level, or area of education in your state in the immediate future, where do *you* think they will most likely be made? I asked that "most likely" areas be listed first. I don't think my respondents warmed up to this question very well, but several attempted to answer. There was certainly no unanimity.

No area got more than three first-place votes, but higher education did get three, as did special education. Administration and money for gifted and talented programs got two. There was one vote each for categorical aid (special programs), flat grants, basic instruction, transportation, and bilingual education. Second choice for cuts was awarded to transportation aid and higher education, both getting three votes. Mentioned once in second place were aid for the handicapped, extracurricular activities, declining enrollment aid, vocational education, general

aid, grades 4–12 aid, and curricular expansion. Cuts would be made most reluctantly in vocational education (three third-place votes) and higher education (two). Getting one nod each were transportation, community colleges, elementary education, extra-curricular education, and building construction.

Finally, I asked if the chairperson's legislature had taken any steps to assist schools in managing enrollment decline. Of the 18 answering, seven said none. Another said nothing worthy of mention—only "resolutions on how to use empty classrooms." Another (from Virginia) said, "We're studying the matter." The other 11 mentioned a variety of procedures, but none I have not already described at some point in this paper.

That concludes my summary of a modest survey. I suppose the most significant finding is that most states are well aware of the difficult problems posed by enrollment decline in a period of inflation and rising school costs. If cuts there must be, however, legislatures are very uncertain where they should be made. The burden for this decision is apparently going to fall very heavily on local policy makers.

SUMMARY

A paper this long ought to end with a succinct summary and a resounding conclusion. A summary of the kind of data I have given you is very difficult to make, however. I'll attempt only to tell you how I felt after reading a great amount of material and looking at a lot of statistics. These observations will have to do double duty, serving also as my conclusion.

First of all, I gained a new appreciation of the variety that characterizes our educational system. The way education is organized and controlled varies a great deal from state to state and region to region. But the *basic* problems we face in different parts of the nation are not very different. We must everywhere seek a rational balancing of priorities. We will have to do what we can to overcome a kind of malaise among Americans—almost a paralysis of the will as we face, for the first time in our history, an almost inevitable decline in our standard of living. How to do it fairly is a very, very knotty problem.

Robert Jastrow, the astronomer and popularizer, stated the challenge of our time rather nicely in his recent book, *Until the Sun Dies:* "The terms *adversity* and *struggle,* he said, so negative in their connotations, describe the life force, for without adversity there is no pressure, and without pressure there is no change." There is not much doubt about it now. Americans will have to adopt a new life-style in the years ahead, and it will test us as never before. We *could* become a better people for it.

The Future and Educational Governance: Prospects and Possibilities

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INTRODUCTION/CHALLENGES

Let us speculate about the future of our nation over the next twenty years and think about some of the economic, social, demographic and political changes most likely to shape the governance of education in the next two decades and beyond.

I know of no way to talk about the future, even in a light vein, without touching on some very scary prospects. So I begin by recalling Alfred North Whitehead's dictum: "It is the business of the future to be dangerous." Beyond that truth, it is important that we are clear about the ground rules. My remarks are *not* to be read as *predictions*. Rather, what I hope I can convey are a few of the things we know to be true, some of the things which might one day prove to be true, and then, combining these two classes of statements, consider some of the possible implications of the resulting formulations for the future of American educational governance.

First, I have listed some of the major, long-term challenges facing our society generally, adapted with special reference to education:[1]

1. Organizing, directing and motivating educational institutions to accommodate to the:
   (a) massive explosion of new knowledge
   (b) revolution in the technology of handling and transmitting knowledge
   (c) erosion of all traditional authority structures and decline in respect for "leaders" of all types
   (d) decline in most universally shared or central social values
2. Accommodating ever widening public demands for increased access to education and greater choice (diversity), without rendering the final product ineffectual in quality.
3. Meeting societal demands for technically skilled graduates who are also enlightened, ethical and responsible citizens.

4. Planning educational goals and standards in the face of massive uncertainties regarding:
   (a) the availability of economic resources and skilled personnel
   (b) economic costs, especially the future of inflation and energy's availability and cost
   (c) society's shifting values and expectations of education
   (d) government's responses to all of the above
5. Coping with increasing public and media demands for accountability, often expressed through cumbersome and prescriptive governmental regulation of educational institutions, process and products.
6. Adapting to rapid social change generally, with particular vulnerability to coercion and disruption arising from the:
   (a) spread of violence and access to instruments of terrorism
   (b) breakdown of trust and civic responsibility
   (c) deterioration of all social institutions and leadership sectors on which population formerly depended for security
7. Creating self-renewal mechanisms for both institutions and individuals, particularly for an aging professional workforce in a system with insufficient resources to recruit talented new members to the public sector.

Next, I suggest that we back up a little and deal with pieces of the above listing in somewhat greater depth.

Demography

One way we can profitably pursue our futuristic inquiry in education is by turning to demography. That often dull-as-dust study is far better appreciated by industry and the military than by educators. In those fields, many a strategic move is mapped only after close study of the Census and related population studies.

Before the U.S. House of Representatives (in one of those self-immolating, false "economy" moves which seem so characteristic of declining legislatures) voted to kill its Select Committee on Population, a most useful Committee compendium reached this vast nation—in a grand total of 1,300 copies! On the basis of *Domestic Consequences of United States Population Change* alone (USGPO, December 1978, 132 pages) we could plan a week of fascinating speculation about the future shape

of American society. Here are some highlights of that most useful volume and related sources,[2] along with an occasional personal commentary about what I think this might all mean for American society and education.

The United States is likely to continue experiencing large new waves of immigration.

Legal newcomers have recently been averaging 4 million per decade. But there are signs that immigration from Southeast Asia and the Soviet bloc is jumping sharply in response to political events there. This highlights an important fact: only 7 percent of our legal immigration is from the countries of northern and western Europe, the nations which supplied 95 percent of all early Americans and which helped to shape our basic institutions.

When it comes to illegal immigrants, no authority knows what the true magnitude is. (In fact, all official population projections make no allowance whatsoever for illegals.) Illegals in the U.S. today are variously estimated at between 2 and 12 million persons. We do know that, last year, our Immigration and Naturalization Service apprehended over a million illegals and that 3 or more got through for every person apprehended. Conventional opinion expects these immigration pressures to mount, rather than subside—particularly if we wish to have neighborly enough relations to be able to purchase Mexican oil and gas.

For education, some implications seem apparent. New immigrants, both legal and illegal, are young. They produce above-average numbers of children. Few have more than a rudimentary knowledge of English, not to mention our culture, history, values.

If the fertility of American women (deriving from earlier immigrations) remains low, our schools could once again become cauldrons for the forced assimilation of new citizens from other cultures. Or have our political values changed irreversibly since the mass immigration of 1880–1920? As Hispanics—oldtimers and newcomers—become the largest ethnic minority in the nation, pressures for bicultural and bilingual education will likely become even more intense than at present. Instead of assimilation, demands for teachers trained in foreign languages, for enlarged representation on faculties and governing boards, for culturally sensitive educational materials can all be projected as many parts of the United States become heavily impacted by students and parents with cultures, languages, and expectations markedly different than the ones which have been dominant for the past century.

In short, will "Bilingual Miami" be the wave of the future? Or will ethnic separatism and tension mark the educational landscape of the last years of the 20th century? Will our central city public schools continue to become dumping grounds for poor ethnic and racial minorities while the middle class (of all races) deserts these public schools? Will the new immigrations accelerate the trend toward what the Kerner Commission saw clearly more than a decade ago: the end of the American dream, schools and society stratified by class, race and ethnicity, with the public schools for "them" and the privates for "us"?

Here are some other demography-driven findings and speculations:

—Despite declining fertility, since 1965 the number of preschool children (under age 6) with mothers in the labor force increased by 65 percent as more women took up paid employment outside the home.

—*The number of preschoolers with working mothers will increase substantially* because (1) in the 1980s, the number of women in their childbearing years will be at its peak as the "baby boom" comes of age; if each woman bears 2 children, the number of preschoolers would rise 25 percent by 1990; (2) women will increasingly enter the workforce as our inflationary society requires more income merely to survive.

—If current child care arrangements are projected into the future, the number of children of working mothers served by day care centers and nursery schools would have to *increase by two-thirds*, to 535,000. Most children, 6.5 million, would still be cared for by relatives or other persons at home; many would continue to receive poor child care with little attention to their developmental and educational needs.

Will Americans recognize the probable damage to much of our future talent and once again consider what are appropriate *public* responsibilities *for one of the most revolutionary developments in American history: the massive enlistment of women in the workforce?*

—*Primary school populations are projected to decline until 1985, to increase between 1985 and 1995, and to decline again from 1995 to 2010.* The same phenomena will affect high-school and college-age populations 5 to 10 years later.

I believe that Chief state school officers have previously considered these projections and their probable impact on educational staffs and facilities. Certainly, Frank Keppel's Aspen Institute studies should be considered by policymakers as they balance the cost of surplus physical and human

resources against the future cost of restoring those resources when needed for larger enrollments. In any case, state-by-state analyses are the only satisfactory way to treat what is likely, in the national aggregate, to produce severe dislocations.

—*America* (we know from personal experience) *is rapidly aging;* the U.S. median age is rising 2 years every decade (despite the youthful impact of immigration already discussed). As Americans age, our dependent senior population creates enormous new burdens for the relatively smaller working population. In 1900, there were 10 youths under age 18 for every elderly person; by 1977, there were only 3 youths per person aged 65 and over. During the next decade, the number of 18-year-olds will decline by 20 percent. Thus, *we shall soon experience a marked shortage of young workers.* By the mid-1980s, private employers, the armed forces, and the colleges should each be scrambling to attract a larger share of these scarce young people. Ironically, a disproportionately large percentage of tomorrow's young people will be today's neglected minority and underprivileged youth. Thus, the productivity of our industries, the effectiveness of our military, and the preparedness of our college students must necessarily all suffer from the neglect of our young people which we have already permitted. Ominously, too, the viability of our Social Security system, other welfare benefits and pension "rights" will all be sorely tested by the earnings success, or lack thereof, of today's pre-teen and teenage populations. In short, the 1990s and 2010s will be a time when the historian may well chronicle: "They reaped as they sowed."

—A brief comment on the relevance of this shortage of young persons for improving the quality of education: with vigorous competition from the private sector for the most talented of tomorrow's young workers, education and the public sector generally will be staffed mostly with the "leftovers." Any chance to improve educational standards must rest primarily with retaining and improving our aging teaching and administrative staffs. Waiting for "fresh blood" to do the job seems statistically and logically unwarranted. It will take extraordinary incentives, not now in existence, to get America's *best* young talent to enter the field of education in the face of far better offers elsewhere.

—Education as an item of national expenditure did remarkably well in post-World War II America. From 2.8 percent of the GNP in 1947, education spending rose to 7.2 percent

of the much larger pie in 1967. In the last decade, however, education's share has risen to only 7.9 percent of the GNP. In this same decade, moreover, educators' personal income has lagged behind every major occupational group except private household workers. In 1967 dollars, today's elementary-secondary teachers earn about what they did in 1968; the real gain in purchasing power of average salaries is under 2 percent. In higher education, real compensation (adjusted for purchasing power) has actually *fallen* 6.1 percent in the period 1969–78.[3]

Do these numbers from the Proposition 13, Fiscal Fitness Era tell us that education has seen its best days? Perhaps. Again, demography may be partially instructive in considering the question:

—Until 2030 at least, America's post-65 population will rise dramatically from only 10.7 percent of the whole in 1976 to as much as 22 percent in 2030. From the viewpoint of public expenditures this aging population is an expensive one: roughly three times as expensive as per capita public expenditures for youth. Morever, the expense is not borne proportionately by the different levels of government. Education, we know, is primarily financed by the states and localities while most public spending for the elderly is federally funded. Already, federal funds for the elderly account for a quarter of Washington's total budget. If continued, by 2025, expenditures for senior citizens could amount to 40 percent of a proportionally larger federal budget. The implications of these facts, among many, for vastly larger federal spending for education seem obvious, if not incontrovertible.

(Little commentary is needed in this audience about the political clout of senior citizens' groups vs. that of educators. For my part, I'd rather join 'em than try beating them. The prospects of coalition politics are fascinating, but beyond the scope of my present assignment.)

Social Prospects—Impact on Education

Much more could be done with educational futures on the basis of demographic data now available to us. But, for change of pace, let me try a more speculative approach with a series of flat assertions about social prospects (again, not predictions) and their possible impact on education.

Let me first state some of the assumptions underlying this

discussion of prospects: They are that our society will experience:

(1) No nuclear holocaust;

(2) No domestic dictatorship which arises in the name of giving us "vigorous leadership" and "answers" to the increasingly frustrating myriad of problems, domestic and international, besetting the nation;

(3) No collective failure of "nerve." Despite the enormity of the problems, and the growing tendency of many persons to avoid uncertainty and pain by maximizing self-interest and personal pleasure, I assume the continuing existence of a small, but sufficient number of leaders and followers—"a saving remnant"—willing to work for less than optimal and immediate self-gratification.

Society's demands for educated workers will increase, most likely beyond anything our planet has ever experienced.

The continuing revolution in telecommunications, computerization and other newer technologies will put a premium on those workers with complex technological knowledge and skills. At the same time, rapidly obsolescent technology means that none of these technical workers and managers will ever be completely competent; training and retraining will be "in" as never before while a sound general "education" on which to base this retraining will be more essential than ever.

"Education" will increasingly be defined as learning how to get information; how to work at solving problems; how to re-create, self-renew, and self-direct toward that which never was before. Narrower definitions and arrangements which perpetuate other educational forms and practices will, at the very least, have to make room for this new and insistent demand for "basic literacy."

In this context, computer literacy and technological sophistication will become essential, not merely "nice", as home computer terminals, two-way (interactive) phone-video consoles, laser and satellite communications, etc. become economically within the reach of many Americans. Not experiencing some level of competence with computers will one day soon be equated with denial of access to information and, therefore, to equal educational opportunity. (What lovely lawsuits! *How much* computer literacy is necessary for success in the competitive workplace?)

The drive for total access to education by every group and subgroup in society will not abate. Politicians and courts will continuously redefine "equality of access" to stress *qualitative* aspects; does the access provided result in a consumer-worker who can *compete successfully* in the economy? This broadening of the concept

of access is likely to accelerate public demands for preschool education and child development (to provide a receptive base for general education and to liberate working women) and for continuing adult education, especially for technological training and retraining.

In a new emphasis on learning (as contrasted with schooling), the public and our politicians *will demand more coordinated* (or at least cooperative) *relations* among schools, colleges, libraries, museums, community services, social and civic organizations, etc. Public demands will increase to meet the total learning needs of all members of society, not merely those formally enrolled in schools. There will be accelerated drives for "community learning networks," "integration of home-school-workplace and recreation," etc. Educators who resist these demands will have tougher times garnering scarce resources and/or will be swept aside altogether.

Concurrent with certain *strong centralizing tendencies in society* (e.g. TV, central computer banks, instantaneous video communication) which will precipitate massive battles over who controls these systems and the software that goes into them, there will be *renewed, and effective, demands for decentralization.* Neo-democracy and neo-humanism will increasingly maintain that (1) large systems of all types, especially large government and large schooling, have failed, and (2) only greater trust and inventiveness at the grassroots level bear any prospect of addressing our numerous problems. Individual schools and teachers will demand—and get—more autonomy. Parents, teachers and citizens without children in the schools will all be involved with contentious forms of participation and "public accountability." Indeed, *the lines between participation and governance will increasingly blur.* Without such local variations in participation (new forms of social/political "legitimization"), there is scant prospect that professional educators will be allowed to ply their trade and even current levels of public resources for schooling will not be forthcoming.

Since knowledge will continue to grow exponentially[4]—and new technologies will demand greater individualization and specialization, adults will have less information in common than ever before. Effective communication on substantive lines, even within the same discipline (e.g. physics, literature, sociology) will become almost impossible.

Therefore, if society is to survive peacefully, our *definition of education must be expanded to stress a kind of civic morality or "social glue"* that is now lacking. Unless ways are found to bind

Americans together (indeed, with all members of Planet Earth), the prospects for division and dangerous social conflict—fostered by the amazing successes of technology and knowledge explosion—are certain. In short, we need to rethink "civic education", "education for public service", etc.

Education's financial ability to afford the above changes is problematic. As education's traditional student body diminishes in number, and as the politically more powerful demands of the aging mount (national health insurance, old-age assistance and welfare reform)—along with other high social priorities (energy R&D, crime control, rebuilding our archaic cities and disintegrating transportation systems, etc.)—will education's share of the GNP be politically able to keep pace? Not without a thorough restructuring of education's tattered alliances and a radicalization of the teaching profession.

Leadership of all types, including educational leadership, will be under greater stress than ever. Public frustration with the rapid pace of social and technological change, the lack of ready solutions to hitherto unconfronted problems, the competition for limited resources among a large number of "good causes," new threats to our standard of living and to cherished institutional arrangements, etc., will all combine to make the lives of our leaders "living hells."

At the same time, *leaders will be more essential than ever.* Without such leaders, we shall have no prospect of holding our society together and of working at the problems that can end human life on this planet. We shall sorely need them to try to discern trends and to serve the emerging new central facts of our society. More than ever, we shall need persons willing to *act* on what they perceive, even though they are wise enough to see contradictions, even though they recognize the limits of knowledge and even of rationality itself, even though they know the melancholy prospect that nothing might work, that everything might fail. . . .

In this connection, I believe our society will have to *give greater attention* than our democratic tradition has hitherto permitted *to the training and nurturance of leaders.* With less apology and self-consciousness, we need to invest one percent or so of our resources in systematic efforts to enable our leaders and their support staffs to be more successful than if left to their own devices. While I would not (today, at least) advocate a "West Point for educational leaders," I do believe that society must provide much more than fragmentary and random efforts—like this perennially embattled Summer Institute—if it is to have any

fair prospect of maximizing its enormous investments in public education.

The nation needs to restore—and be serious about—training programs like the Education Professions Development Act, which recognized that competence can be developed as well as inherited. We need to experiment judiciously with the business schools' case method of preparing decisionmakers to act. We need far more than the 200 advanced clinical placements each year which are made possible in ten states and D.C. by George Washington University's Institute for Educational Leadership's Education Policy Fellowship Program. And, overall, we need to be less self-conscious in our approach to problems of leadership. Just as the need for specialized training for military and naval leadership is widely accepted, we need to work toward a national climate in which training for the public service, including education, is viewed as vital to the survival of a free society.

REFERENCES

1. Adapted liberally from Morton Darrow's January 30, 1979, remarks at the Educational Staff Seminar of the Institute for Educational Leadership. Darrow is Vice President for Planning and Analysis, Prudential Insurance Company of America.
2. I am particularly indebted to the unpublished statements of Arthur J. Lewis of the University of Florida, Robert Theobold of Wickenburg, Arizona, Patricia Graham, former Director of the NIE, with whom I testified in "foresight" hearings before the House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education, Committee on Education and Labor, April 1979.
3. See *Report on the Annual Survey of Faculty Compensation*, 1977–78, AAUP Bulletin, September 1978; *Scheduled Teacher Salaries–1978–79, Selected AFT Locals*, March 1979; *Estimates of School Statistics, 1978–79*, NEA Research Memo, January 1979.
4. Dr. Graham's testimony, April 26, 1979, cites these examples of incredible change in the preceding century: travel speed increased by a factor of 100; control of infectious disease improved by a factor of 100; data handling speed increased by 10,000; the speed of communications increased by a factor of 10 million.

Educating the Exceptional in an Age Of Limits

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INTRODUCTION

While the topic for examination is "educating the exceptional in an age of limits", the subtitle might be stated: educating not only in an age of limits, but educating *for* an age of limits. Or, how far can we go when faced with the social and economic phenomena of limits such as implied by "Proposition 13"?

Let us share some thoughts regarding what it means for *all* of us as professionals involved with children and young people to be facing limits at a time when we are presented with an unlimited reservoir of needs, demands, and expectations. I need hardly remind you that a major shift is taking place within the short time span of two decades. We have gone from a psychological and conceptual framework of unlimited potential, primarily brought in by the initiation of the "space age," where even the sky was not the limit, to an era of the last five years when we have become more concerned about whether we will have sufficient energy to go from our place of employment to our home, or whether we will have sufficient funds within our organizational bank account to meet the next payroll.

For a nation that has taken pride in a work ethic where the "pioneering spirit" and hard work can overcome any obstacle, facing constraints and limits is inconceivable. Collectively, we simply refuse to come to grips with the reality. We deny, blame, and project the cause of our problem elsewhere. As a group we conspire to avoid any responsibility. This groups dynamic is prompted by mutual anxiety.

However, when it comes to individuals, group psychological processes give way to individual dynamics. The reactions and behavioral responses to limits faced by individuals have been established for all of us during the early phases of our own growth and maturation. To emphasize my point I want to quote a rather simple but profound statement that all of us learned well before we were three years old:

"Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
Humpty Dumpty had a great fall.
All the king's horses and all the king's men,
Couldn't put Humpty together again."

I doubt whether that will be found in any of the major textbooks on school economics or administration. However, the symbolic and metaphorical implications ring true to each one of us. That is why preschoolers like to hear it repeatedly, often to the frustration of parents, grandparents, and babysitters.

From a psychological standpoint, it has been said that Humpty Dumpty symbolizes the unique and idealized relationship that the infant has with the parent. This favored position implies that all the attention and other benefits will be showered on the child who tries hard to believe he or she is in control of his or her own destiny. The anxiety is that at some point other children may come into the family, and this unique and favored parent-child relationship will be broken, never to be experienced again. It is the anxiety that requires repeating of the rhyme, almost as though through magic the perfect relationship won't be changed.

Our idealized age of unlimited resources may be for us the "Humpty Dumpty" that has now fallen. Suddenly we face limits and obstacles over which we have no control, notwithstanding even our pioneering spirit. Although the limits and necessities we face will undoubtedly mother new inventions, we can no longer deny that we face limits. Even "All the king's horses and all the king's men" that we send to Washington or other legislative bodies cannot put our "Humpty Dumpty" of unlimited resources back together again.

Limitations Imposed by Trajectories

Those individuals and groups that are in positions of leadership are beginning to come to the realization that there are two trajectories now approximating each other. These two trajectories are determined by principles which can no longer be managed or administered as though they were separate and unrelated. The one trajectory has to do with the principle governing practical and necessary components of power and control. The second trajectory includes those issues governed by principles of ethical considerations. As these two trajectories come into closer and closer approximation, those in leadership positions recognize that in addition, *the psychological and behavioral reactions of people cannot be ignored*. As a society, we have run square into the limitations imposed by both trajectories. For

example, world leadership has gradually understood that the number of weapons controlled by two large countries have their limits. From the simple practical considerations, you can only destroy a city so many times and need only so much weaponry for that destruction. Again from a practical standpoint, any country, no matter how wealthy, can afford to put only so much money into defense without going broke. If the ethical questions of mass destruction were not enough, we face the ethical questions of diverting funds into defense that are so badly needed in other human service projects. In a more parochial sense, educational systems' struggle with the limits of power and control translate into money, facilities, equipment, and personnel. The ethical questions come into play around the decisions of distribution, how much money and time or facilities and for which students, or which system, or which locale. The school systems are not in a vacuum, but are housed in the very communities that are formed by individuals who will react as decisions are made. These behavioral and psychological manifestations cannot be ignored. Ask any leader, any president, any governor, any school superintendent who provides leadership. The emotional response to decisions are manifestations of the fears and anxieties that will be strong enough to change the course of an administration, be it at the local or national level. Behavior and emotion are not always rational. The reactions to decisions are a resultant of the irrational but very human processes that cannot be ignored.

In this sense, the metaphorical message in "Humpty Dumpty" takes into account that we are limited, and that primary aspects of these limits are contained in the principles of the two trajectories, the trajectory of power and control on the one hand, and the trajectory of ethical considerations on the other.

The young child faces these same dilemmas and has by the age of five already gained some perspective in management of these problems. As this child grows into adulthood, he continues to struggle with the concept that he cannot control the size of the family, cannot control the size of the budget, and has certain mandates that come from the ethical principles that are necessitated by a complex society attempting to live in relationship with each other. These issues must be faced by all of us whether we are in industry, in government, or in one of the helping services such as education or medicine.

To examine the issues I propose to look at three specific areas: (a) the process we call "educating"; (b) the concept of exceptional youngsters; and (c) the concept of limits.

Psychological Issues

The perspective and orientation that I chose is one of exploring *psychological issues*, those issues dealing with individuals and their collective action in groups. My theoretic position is that individuals act and behave in ways that are prompted by their own personal perspective, feelings, attitudes, and needs. These feelings often are expressed in forms of reactions to stress, anxiety, depression, and confusion. Attitudinal issues include those often described as "morale," a sense of helplessness, hopelessness, or on the positive side, a feeling of enthusiasm, ability to initiate and be creative. Our behavioral response is influenced by (a) our internal understanding and perception as well as by (b) the external reality prompted by our behavior. In the end, we do not only react as individuals, but in a collective way through groups. On the surface, the reactions often seem irrational, thus adding to our bewilderment.

I emphasize the psychological and behavioral responses because so much of what we see currently in our society has to do with very personal and idiosyncratic issues. As individuals, we still manifest the history of our own maturational experience. We carry with us as adults those magical hopes and fears, the preconceived biases and ideas, and the often unrealistic attitudes that have been so much a part of our growing up experience. Indeed, our own childhood lives with us, and our reactions as adults must take this into account.[1] Combine this with the reality of our reaction to the rewards and incentives of an integrated society, and one has the potential for confusion, unpredictability, irrational behavior, and ambiguity. I emphasize the psychological factors because they will indeed have as much to do with the "age of limits" as the limits and constraints themselves.

EDUCATING

It is as though our society has developed a tacit agreement with our educational systems to implement and carry on many activities that historically are *not* a part of organized education. The magnitude of your task as educators has increased dramatically. What at one point may have seemed to be simply a matter of teaching the three "R's" has now developed into a full-blown industry. Depending upon the particular location, even in communities up to a size of 250,000, the educational system may be the largest single employer, and its budget outstrips the budget of many local industries. Society and the school

system's agreement or "contract" has often come in very small increments and with an apparent "willingness" of the school system to "accept" added responsibility. Undoubtedly some school officials have recognized that the small streams have eroded into a problem of canyon-size torrents. To this extent it is a credit to you as conscientious educators that by virtue of your value system you have "willingly" taken on extra duties. In a sense, no other part of the community has been systematically organized so completely to work with young people as the school system. Granted, mandatory education laws have thrust this upon you. Nonetheless, if we agree the young people of today become tomorrow's leaders, the school system has not failed society in that these added functions have been "accepted." These functions include:

A. Moral/ethical training functions
B. Medical functions
C. Social functions
D. Personal welfare functions

In the past, although the school system may have picked up on assisting in certain of these areas, these were *always supplementary*, in a sense a complimentary function to the home and family. Not so any longer. Now the school system is looked upon as a primary agent, in not only education, but the above four functions in society.

All of this has happened through an era when educational personnel and systems themselves have felt the "crunch," both collectively and individually.

From a collective standpoint, issues have surfaced in disputes between the school system and community, with special interest groups often insisting on or demanding changes. Splits have developed between administration and teachers, between taxpayers and school boards (such as the Proposition 13 phenomenon), and between groups with ideals and attitudes that often run counter to tradition, values, and experience in the school system. Such ideals and attitudes extend over the entire spectrum, from individuals who are disillusioned by the system and thus start their own private "schools," all the way to federal legislation that literally by the stroke of the pen can mandate change overnight.

Individual educators, not without surprise, feel and express this "crunch" in more personal and idiosyncratic ways. Their individual reactions represent not only the impact that their employing agency (the school system) has on them, but now this fits into their total life experience. At least from a statistical

standpoint, a growing number of teachers and administrators are heads of single parent families. Especially classroom teachers who have historically been on the lowest end of the pay scale, and who also have been primarily female, perceive many of the issues as a direct threat to their ability to parent or provide any reasonable future for themselves and their family. In general, almost as a sign of our times, we find many professional educators who are under heavy stress with low morale, disillusionment, and feelings of "burnout."

Yet, the mandate is that "education" must take place. For the "exceptional child," just as for other children, the implication is that the educational system is totally responsible to prepare the child for the future, maximizing the potential and abilities of the individual in relationship to the needs that he or she will experience in a complex society. However, no one can adequately define the future, except maybe to realize, at last, that constraints and limits will be a part of it. We not only have the task of educating young people in this age of limits, we also need to provide the conditions that our young people can learn how to *adapt* within the reality of limits and at the same time provide incentive to search new directions.

What then is your responsibility as the chief officers of the school systems within your state or territory? Above all, the *leadership* that you provide which sets the pace for attitude and motivation may be at this time the most critical function. Under the general rubric of "organizational maintenance," how will you help your individual state or territory adapt to the issues that come up for you and are played out against the background of national and international concerns? How will you show and take a lead in innovation? Conventional approaches will no longer mean success in this age where "stagflation" has replaced the economic concepts of stagnation (or recession) and inflation. If you perceive that society is asking more of the educational process than it can deliver, be ready to deal with this magical projection and expectation. Such magical hopes have been rekindled anew in many elements of society as a direct result of growing anxiety that "things are out of control." During times when anxiety mounts, people will project blame, disavow responsibility, and the educational establishment will be scapegoated as the cause of many problems, i.e., delinquency, rising crime rate, unemployment, etc. These "psychological" issues will have impact on how we as professionals work with the "exceptional student."

As a society, we have continued to develop an attitude of dependency, rather than one of interdependency. This is not a shift that has taken place in a vacuum, but increasing dependency has happened at all levels of society, beginning with the individual. At certain times of individual maturation, dependency is a normal and predictable relationship. In growing from infancy through adolescence, there is a general shift away from dependency upon the family or parents to a more *interdependent* relationship that should reach its height at the time of separation of the individual from home. With maturation, one no longer projects blame on others but takes responsibility for one's own action. However, what has happened within society is that we expect the "other person" to do for us what is our responsibility. It is this magical expectation that is one of the root problems now being played out for the educational system vis-a-vis society. It is as though I as a member of society tell you as an educator to do these things for me, for my children, and for society, but *now do it with less*. Likewise, the individual school system within a community says to the state and federal levels, "We are being asked to do more, now give us the funds." The Federal system (which in the end is a magical projection of our own wish since the federal system is really ourselves) says, "We have no more, do it on your own."

What happens when wishes and needs are frustrated? It all depends. It all depends on some of the basic personality traits that we count on individuals having developed. The problem is that with our current trends, these characteristics often are lacking. We speak of these characteristics in psychological terms such as impulse control, rational judgment, and frustration tolerance. Historically, these are the various personal qualities that we have counted upon families to develop and assist children in acquiring.

But times have changed. The school system is now required to help more and more. What happens now? What happens when my personal "needs" dictate a high level of energy consumption? When my demand for electricity or for gasoline outstrips the available supply? Or when the need a company has to make a profit hits a community just at the point of greatest vulnerability? Recently we have witnessed a dramatic increase in tension and anxiety to the point of brutal killings of truck drivers, of arguments and fights while supposedly "mature adults" wait in line at a gas station.

It is in this setting of emotions, attitudes, and feelings that our educational system exists. For that matter, so do all our

systems since this is a reality of our present society.

The trend is likely to increase in the direction of getting worse rather than better. This is because our personal and collective "needs and desires" have increased, far outstripping the availability of the "satisfiers." It is as though when we were young, we had hoped for and wanted something so desperately from Santa Claus. When it was not given, we felt deprived and then reacted in disappointment.

For a moment let me bring in some information from the system with which I am more familiar—the medical system.[2] The complexity of what "health care" means has increased dramatically. As a result, the costs of health care have increased as well. In addition, a major social shift is taking place and has its impact on the medical *and* the school system. We have known for many years that families are an extremely important part of the social "caring system." Although the medical scientist may raise justifiable questions about the adequacy of some home health care, one cannot deny that the combination of psychological and physical care that families have offered to its members have provided the basic foundation for care and nurturance. The family is important, and thus until recently has lightened the load for the medical care system.

Not so any longer. As the family structure has fallen apart, people feel a deprivation of caring and seek it from the medical professional. A statistical manifestation of this is that we see greater mortality and earlier death in those individuals who are outside of the general family care system, such as the divorced, separated, and those who have lost a spouse through death. Both emotional and physical illnesses have a greater incidence in these groups. With a larger percentage of marriages ending (failing), we have greater numbers of singles, divorced, and separated individuals. With an increase of single parent families, a significant shift of basic caring has changed from family units to medical care systems. Statistically, those individuals who use the medical caring system most frequently are those who are single, divorced, separated, or those who have lost a spouse. As the need for medical care increases, the cost of care goes up because the demand is for the highest quality care.

And what is the impact on the educational system? In parallel, I would suggest that the educational system also is feeling this impact of "caring." As the family is less able or less willing to care for young people, society looks to the next system most available. It is not surprising to find that society has called upon the school system to take up in the vacuum left by the disintegrating family.

Reviewing briefly again the four functions mentioned earlier:

A. Moral/ethical training functions
B. Medical functions
C. Social functions
D. Personal welfare functions

In the past, the family along with the religious system, was expected to help the young person acquire a certain level of moral and ethical coherence. From a psychosocial developmental standpoint, it is appropriate that the four to six-year-old youngster was brought to school since by this age most families had helped the child acquire some basic understanding of what was his and what was the property of others. This made life much simpler for the school system since the teacher could assume that the child had some basic elements of impulse control, good judgment, and frustration tolerance. Although the kindergartener may have looked enviously for a new eraser much like his friend had across the aisle, he recognized that he must keep his hands to himself. Only under unusual circumstances would the teacher have to help reinforce this. It may be that some may still remember a time like that!

Not so any longer. It is being said with increasing frequency the school building may be the most dangerous place young people frequent. I would remind you of the assaults, coercion, threats, and even murders that have taken place within schools. As you can see, although the "Proposition 13 phenomenon" has great impact, there are limits to education *other than financial limits*.

There was a time when medical and health care factors were assumed by the family. With increasing frequency, I have heard of youngsters dropped off at school while the parents (or parent in a single parent family) have headed to their own job long before teachers arrived at school. Upon the arrival of the school nurse, she discovered that the youngster had a fever and for all practical purposes should have stayed home. When the nurse attempted to call the telephone number listed on the registration information given for such a purpose, the number was fictitious. The school system has been increasingly thrust into the role of a medical care system since for a variety of reasons the family has essentially neglected this part. Indeed, it may be that the family pet receives better care than many of the children. For many youngsters, especially from families provided low socioeconomic support, the school system becomes the ultimate monitor of physical and emotional health. All the way from ensuring the immunization status to watching for communicable diseases, the school system has reluctantly taken over the preventive health maintenance once the prerogative of the family.

An extension of this goes into the social caring system. With overburdened welfare systems in most areas, the school again is the only consistent adult-operated mechanism to ensure that young people have at least the basic social supports due them. This puts the classroom teacher and the school principal into the child's advocacy position. It may be that school personnel are the first ones to note child abuse. The reliance that children have upon their teacher as a confidant and protector is not often realized, appreciated, or understood by the teacher. For this reason, many teachers do not pick up on the subtle, nonverbal messages that are sent in desperation by the child. This is especially so for those children who are involved in special education, since it may be that the teacher is the most sensitive and understanding adult to whom the child has access.

Closely allied to the social welfare concerns are the personal welfare issues. At one point the "milk program" was seen as supplementary to the dietary and nutritional programs that were assumed to be a part of family responsibilities. No longer is this the case. The school now for many youngsters provides the only balanced nutritional input. Likewise, from the standpoint of personal welfare, teachers must be supported in their increased understanding of how important they are for children and young people because of their consistency, generally high level of emotional health, and the continuity they provide. This is especially so for some children in "exceptional" programs, who because of their own problems, often are not able to understand and readily see continuity and "sameness" from day to day. They suffer from the lack of predictability which increases their anxiety and ambiguity, *compromising their already limited abilities* to cope and learn.

EXCEPTIONAL STUDENTS

Now I would like to focus upon the beneficiaries of our concern, the young people of the educational system. More specifically, there is increasing concern about the "exceptional student." The term itself is not an exact one but when generically applied, includes youngsters who are not a part of the "normal" grouping. Often IQ values, as inaccurate and misleading as these may be, have been used to provide some measure of "normality." Depending upon what "windows" one desires, or the criteria used to define "normality," one ends up with those that are highly gifted academically, those that have struggles around academic or behavioral problems, or it may also

include hearing and vision impairments. Numerous successful individuals throughout history are used as examples of those who might have been in their own day and age considered "exceptional" usually because of learning difficulties or other problems.

It brings to mind the question whether in our well-meaning attempts to help individuals prepare themselves for their own future, we have been unfair. By putting increasing emphasis and increasing the public's awareness, have we increased the stress and pressure on both the educator as well as the student? As is well known by many, and enunciated so well by Tevye in "Fiddler on the Roof," being separated out as "special" is not always helpful. However, let us not forget that well-meaning individuals have attempted to provide the best possible educational opportunities as they understood the conditions to exist. It is a credit to the American educational system that those educators involved have tried to understand the individual needs of young people and meet these needs as directly as possible. This has often been done at times when it was not popular and when the value system of society in general dictated otherwise. To this extent, we still face quite squarely the disparate values that we enunciate and those that we practice.

What does it mean to be "exceptional"? In a very important and basic sense, *each* individual is exceptional because of individual qualities. I mention this for emphasis, not because of its impact as new information. It is one of the cornerstones of education, and that branch of the educational system known as "special education" that we appreciate and emphasize the uniqueness of each individual. In a more pragmatic sense, the exceptional student is defined often by legal mandates and implementation guidelines. One definition has to do with IQ and has already been mentioned. However, there are those who are not having difficulty when given standard tests to measure intelligence, but still are not maximizing their potential. Some youngsters who are learning disabled have been able to learn in spite of *their difficulties or the difficulties of our system*. They have an above-average IQ, and yet need special attention to maximize their skills. There are those individuals in special programs who have specific disabilities such as visual, auditory, or neuromuscular. These also often fall under the general guidelines of "exceptional students." In the end, it is a program definition as to who falls into the "exceptional" category by virtue of those young people who require "exceptional" or out of the ordinary opportunity to provide an educational experience for them.

It is my observation that both ethically and legally school systems are questioning if indeed the separating out of "exceptional" students should be done. To the extent that there is discrimination against youngsters by virtue of race or socioeconomic background, or even handicap, some special programs have perpetuated the youngsters' difficulty rather than aided them. I like to think this discrimination has not been done on a conscious basis.

The issues of "equal opportunity" and "least restrictive environment" must be put in perspective. Depending upon the assets or liabilities of the young person, some separation and specificity may be needed to achieve the most helpful conditions for learning. In the late 1960's through legal action[3] and through the professional literature there was a general revision in the concept of separating out exceptional children. At about this same time, research work was demonstrating the general concept of "self-fulfilling prophecy."[4] In this now well-known experiment it was demonstrated that teacher expectancy had a great deal to do with student outcome. Much concern has been expressed about the exceptional student. In spite of our best efforts to help youngsters maximize their potential, it may be that simply by separating them out we have already lowered our expectations and have done students a disservice. Research has shown that self-concept and self-esteem are strong determinants for future accomplishment.[5] If the individual perceives himself or herself as defective, odd, or unusual, this must be dealt with as a part of the remedial or helping process. The phenomenon of "being different" is the same for those youngsters who have difficulty, as well as those youngsters who are gifted.

For some youngsters who are "behind" because they have not experienced appropriate social interaction and stimulation, separating them out into homogeneous groups is likely to do them a disfavor by further isolating them from experiences they need. The school system has several responsibilities, i.e., not only academic instruction but the socialization aspects of maturational experiences for a large number of youngsters. This may be especially pertinent to youngsters who are "mildly mentally retarded," and who have been defined using norms that are not appropriate and methods that are also unsuited.

In relationship to the educational process, since the Federal legislation of 1975, all students now, regardless of their handicapping or other abilities must be given "appropriate public educational opportunities." Part of the impact stems from the

Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Section 504, which outlines nondiscrimination factors. Discrimination may not be practiced. Public Law 94-142 has defined a different world for the educator. The world is different because not only is education a part of it, but a whole variety of other forces now come under the concern for the educator. I speak specifically of the interface between education and medical or psychological issues that are a part of the child. In our modern era, we have fractionated and separated out people to the point that they no longer feel integrated. Let me use the example of a very common malady, that of the stomach ache. How should a mother approach a child who complains of a stomach ache? Is it a medical problem to be treated by a hot water bottle or some other symptomatic treatment? Is it a surgical problem that requires a surgeon's knife? Or is it a psychological problem, in a sense a form of "body language" that is being used to express the feelings around stress or anxiety?

With the school system, if the child is not achieving up to his or her potential, is it a problem of education, or is it a behavioral manifestation of a medical or neurological problem, or of a psychological problem? In the past the school system could review the educational factors and having satisfied itself, could tell the parents that everything was being done from the *educational perspective*, and that ended the responsibility. With the new educational mandate found in Public Law 94-142, the parent now can tell the school system that it *must* go further since the free appropriate public education must be made available regardless of whether it is a neurological or a psychological problem. Thus, the school system has been placed into the position of differentiating *accurately and sufficiently* as to the interaction of many causes or etiologies. You, as educators, must now ensure an accurate assessment, as if it were, a differential diagnosis, and an appropriate remedial process. It is no longer academic. The number of lawsuits will increase, since parents potentially have the right to bring to court the educator who has been negligent in the appropriate assessment and remedial approach. Educators share the courtroom with medical personnel to an increasing degree. Your "malpractice insurance" will in the future, if it has not already, reflect the financial implications of this process.

Here I recognize a personal bias. I do not think it appropriate in our society that the educational system must become the point at which such diagnostic work takes place. I realize that many school systems now are gaining increasing expertise in evaluating children, and even in evaluating the family and social

situations that have such direct impact on the youngster's educational process. From personal experience I have seen youngsters professionally who have been "misdiagnosed" by highly efficient and experienced educators when they were asked to take the role of a professional medical or psychiatric diagnostician. As professionals *mutually* interested in the welfare of children and families, you as educators and we as physicians must be proactive in taking the responsibility of defining our mutual roles. The children who are exposed to inadequate assessment in the end will suffer the greatest and most extensive consequences. If a youngster who is in need of medical and psychiatric care is not afforded this care, I think it is an ethical problem of the greatest consequence, especially when such care is potentially available. And the reverse holds true also. If a youngster is seen from a medical perspective who actually needs remedial education, I think this is equally unfair and equally inappropriate. Neither medicine nor education can be given the sole responsibility. *Appropriate integration* of these approaches and services for the welfare of the youngster is required. Integration is required because of the inherent limits in both helping services.

LIMITS

The concept of "limits" is most intriguing, and has already been alluded to earlier. However, because this is so central to our current professional and social interests, I would like to spend time looking at some *psychological* and *social dynamics* of this phenomenon.

Limits or constraints are perceived when our needs or desires are in excess of our resources. This often is seen paradoxically, probably best enunciated in the saying: "Water, water everywhere, and not a drop to drink." This has no impact until one is adrift at sea.

If indeed limits imply a *relative* lack of resources, what brings this about? At some point, either individually or as a society, we must be more careful in defining the difference between "desires" and "needs." To a great extent we once again are confronted by our idiosyncratic value systems. As a society, we set priorities in illogical but often predictable ways.

Separating out and better defining the difference between "desires" and "needs" will be increasingly important for society. This will not be easy because special interest groups have by and large taken over. Ask those involved in the legislative process, and they will tell you that we are entering an era where

special issues become the byword for legislation. This is strongly related to personal and vested interests and as long as I can have my personal interests satisfied, I care little for the other person or the other issues. This myopic tunnel vision may be a feature of not only increased specialization and isolation within society, but a direct result of anxiety, stress, alienation, loneliness, and hopelessness.

Assuming we can make some clear distinction between "desires" and "needs" regarding educational issues for children, and especially for the "exceptional child," let us turn to the question of resources which include *more* than finances. People, too, are resources.

We have bought into a collective myth, eagerly propagated, that resources are "unlimited," and that all possibilities are open to those who are willing to try. The basic work ethic that was at least partially responsible for providing the impetus for a pioneer spirit was part of this.

Individuals at one time in our history demonstrated the ability to work towards a greater common good, setting aside personal desires, sharing the results of one's work, and yet accepting individual responsibility for one's self and one's family. Such individuals had achieved maturational levels in their own personality development that allowed them to work with and for others, directing personal interests to a lower part of the value system. For a large portion of society, and maybe for an increasingly larger segment, these ideas are no longer fashionable or even conceivable.

Consider the concepts proposed by Dr. Amitai Etzioni.[6] There is a strong possibility that the changing work ethic is a factor in our current economic and inflationary dilemma. "If it is true that more and more workers are stoned on the job, would rather collect welfare than to work, and, on the assembly line, are much more willing to allow it to break down—even to help it break down so that they can rest for awhile—and if large numbers of people have begun to believe that hard work is unnecessary and even uncouth, the work ethic may indeed be waning. And *that* may be causing the productivity slowdown."

Probably never before in history in just the same way have we been forced to recognize certain limits, especially in resources. To personalize the issue of financial resources, *all* of us as taxpayers finally say to "someone," that we are fed up with paying money out, even if we do have representation. Thus, I as a taxpayer, say to that part of society dependent upon my taxes, I no longer want to support the dependency that has

been slowly and insidiously enhanced. Add to this the lack of credibility that I might feel in my "leaders," the growing recognition of graft and corruption, of waste and inefficiency, and I finally say "stop."

I want to emphasize again, resources mean more than money. Resources also include people, time, ideas, and attitudes.

I would like to highlight first the resource of "people." Included here are educators, administrators, the children we serve, parents, families, and others in society. Legislators are becoming increasingly important resources for all of us in the human services. I will emphasize now and repeatedly throughout the rest of this material that *closer integration and mutual interaction with others* is one way to maximize our resources.[7,8] This is certainly true for those involved in designing legislative mandates and financial appropriations.

Just as children are the most important resource we have for our future, so school personnel are the most critical resource for skilled educational programming to prepare the young people for the future. The deployment and assignment of highly trained professionals are management issues that speak to efficient use of *human resources*. Responsible management is not simple nor without its hazards. Educators and administrators are highly trained professionals, individuals with their own goals and personal interests. They cannot be "ordered around" as though they were in the military, unless one is willing to lose just those qualities which make *good* teachers *great* teachers. The actual placement of sensitive individuals requires a finesse and predictability that combines intuitive gifts as well as statistical analysis. Especially with youngsters who are termed "exceptional students," the personality characteristics of the teacher become critically important. Supervisors must be given time and support to know personally the teaching resources and personnel so that appropriate matching is possible as the needs arise with the student.

The general concept is to provide to the youngster who has specific needs, very specific assistance. This requires that the teacher has the time, energy, personality, and unending enthusiasm that can counterbalance a youngster's disenchantment and hopelessness. However, with the complicated and intricate systems, we often require more of the teacher in the line of administrative duties and paperwork than is useful or warranted.

Burnout is the generic term used that describes a phenomenon of increasing importance. It is important because the end

result is the loss of highly trained, experienced, and sensitive individuals just at a time when our resources are being strained. Many personal dynamics result in the burnout phenomenon. These include the failure to find adequate "back-off time," a failure to find sufficient collegial support, and repetitively experiencing frustration and failure without sufficient emotional rewards to persist. This phenomenon is a problem for all human service workers, not only teachers.

However, administrators must keep in mind that burnout can be either hastened or prevented by their management style and abilities. I have already alluded to the increasing time that we are asking of teachers away from actual student contact. The demand for accountability and the resulting paperwork, especially with funding sources, must be recognized but balanced against the fatigue factor of teachers. Administrative red tape, frustrations around having to fight for supplies, issues around salary and negotiations, and the resultant low morale are to burnout as gasoline is to a fire.

Preventive mental health concepts must be taken into account when it relates to teachers who have regular contact with students, especially students who often because of their own difficulties may not be immediately gratifying to the adults (both parents and teachers) whom they are dependent upon.

I would suggest that educators might learn something from the mistakes that we as mental health professionals have made for some time. The military has used the concepts of "R&R," rest and relaxation. Translating this concept into human service organizations and recognizing that certain individuals on the firing line in mental health services are especially likely to succumb to burnout, we found that rotating individuals to other positions for a period of time not only allows renewal, but helps them once again gain perspective. As I look from outside the educational system, it would seem that rotating teachers who are exposed to situations likely to engender burnout into other areas for one or two years, would be an extremely important process. Thus, a special education teacher would once again gain perspective by being in a "regular" classroom. By having a larger pool of special education teachers, there could always be some who would be in the regular classroom, and these could then be rotated on a regular basis with teachers in the special education classes.

All teachers will need time during the work day to "back off" for planning and for discussing issues with each other. This provides an important antidote to the insidious poison that starts in the form of burnout.

Being involved in creative activities also appears to be extremely helpful to prevent burnout. The combination of being able to share feelings and ideas, and to create and innovate seems to be a natural part of the value system of the school. However, so many times these simple matters are depreciated or not allowed, on the assumption that there are always other teachers available to replace the individuals who "can't take it." Ironically, often those who are best at the task of helping youngsters, who are most sensitive and creative, and who are the best resources, are driven out of the system. Because of their empathic qualities, they are *unusually sensitive* to the stress of isolation, low recognition, and a lack of positive feedback from administrators. Thus, we have "management by attrition" which in the end often leaves the most cynical and least sensitive individuals remaining at the firing line. Burnout is a hazard that warrants your most serious consideration.

Another "people resource" would include the youngsters who are in the school system. Youngsters learn quickly from each other. This is one definite argument for maintaining those children who have special needs with others, especially when these needs include those things that are learned through social interaction. Considering that children are innately hungry and curious for knowledge, they represent an educational resource. By teaching other youngsters, they also learn as well.

What about parents as a resource? This becomes questionable for a large segment of our child population. The family as we have known it and counted upon for years, is changing sufficiently so that this resource at times even becomes an antagonist. Unfortunately, some of the parents who currently are least understanding of the educator and child are the very product of the educational and family system of the past generation. Remember, they came out of a time when things were relatively stable. This gives some hint as to what the future is likely to contain considering the current unrest in society and the end products of anger, frustration, and hopelessness that will be seen.

It is appropriate to call your attention to another major family issue that no longer can be ignored. It also serves as an example to point out that many things are likely to influence education of all children, and certainly the "exceptional child." We are finding that within our society, and at all socioeconomic levels, a major problem of physical violence in the family must be considered. Since this is often hidden, and because of loyalties and fear of personal threat the children might experience, it may never surface. The popular press[9] has taken note of this which

in itself should allow more awareness within society. A *Time* article draws attention to a book soon to be published, *Behind Closed Doors: A Survey of Family Violence in America.* It is estimated that eight million Americans are assaulted each year by members of *their own* family. Going further, it is likely that 16% of all couples have violent confrontations, that 3% of all children are at some time kicked, bitten, or punched by their parents, and that over 30% of all siblings severely attack each other. These are families that are in all school systems. I would propose that there is no child that has the psychological freedom that is required to learn if this is the condition that is found at home.

Many of the parents, however, are constructive and can be counted upon to assist, although they are not always in agreement nor do they immediately comply with "directives" or other requests. The attitudinal chasm between some school personnel and some parents needs a great deal of bridge-building. We are in the era of "participatory management," and this means inherently many parents will want to be involved in the program that some do not understand or outwardly detest. In the final analysis, we must count on some level of cooperation and integration between school personnel and responsible "lay" adults.

Some youngsters essentially have no functional parents. This necessitates working with other adults or parent surrogates who often are quite overburdened by the sheer volume of youngsters under their jurisdiction. This includes court personnel, social welfare personnel, and others. Very few educators understand or have gained good experience in the required techniques to work with children culturally, emotionally, and economically deprived.

OTHER RESOURCES

Time is a resource, a valuable commodity, and one that has definite limits. I say this not as a way of forecasting any "end," but rather see time as a concept and in the context of growth and development. Time, just as growth and development, cannot be stopped. Because of this it gradually "runs out" for any one individual, especially young people. Relatively speaking, young people change drastically in a period of time that would seem for adults to be short. The change that takes place for adults in the 10-year period between age 55 and 65 is less significant than the 10-year span between age five and 15. At age five we have a kindergarten student, and at age 15 we have a

high school student. This is why I include time as one of our resources that we must consider, and a resource that is indeed limited. If educational systems do not develop appropriate programs with haste and deliberateness, some youngsters will lose out on age-appropriate activities, and these will be lost essentially forever. Certain maturational steps simply must take place in a sequential pattern. Delaying is tantamount to withholding.

Other resources I would include are those of *ideas* and *attitudes*. We are limited by our own attitude, often depreciating ideas and enthusiasm of others who are not of similar mind or approach. This may account for some of the difficulty between non-educational lay persons and school personnel.

What are some of the factors that produce "limits"? Money may be less of a limit than other factors. Certainly the "Proposition 13 phenomenon" emphasizes that money is limited. I would add many things to the list that are more directly under your control than money. For example, I would present the following list that potentially ranks along with money to provide constraints:

A. Preconceived ideas and traditions.
B. Competition for "fixed" quantity.
C. Organizational and administrative factors.
D. Waste and inefficiency through using wrong or inappropriate approaches.
E. Isolated efforts.
F. Failure to use understanding of "natural" events such as critical points in development and maturational experiences, biorhythms, nuances of individual differences.
G. The failure to admit ignorance.
H. The failure to ask "why."
I. Taking adversary positions.
J. "Fighting and opposition."

I would like to once again emphasize one factor that I see providing limits through inappropriate approaches as well as waste and inefficiency. This has to do with the *accurate assessment* of the youngster's abilities and limits *prior* to the actual assignment for help, be this remedial work or treatment. I say this with the biases of a clinician. However, I am regularly impressed that some youngsters present such a complicated picture that the diagnostic or appraisal efforts will of necessity be quite involved. This is likely to take more time than the routine presentation of several standardized tests. It seems to me that unless appropriate assessment is made, and sufficient time is taken for the total picture to emerge, placing a youngster in any

type of program will not only waste valuable learning time for the youngster, but also professional time from the educator. I recognize the dangers in assessment, especially the danger of "labeling." I believe firmly in a *multidisciplinary assessment approach*, assessing physical, emotional, cognitive, social, and family resources for each youngster. While I recognize that youngsters who might come to my clinical attention are severely involved in an illness process that makes learning difficult, I am amazed at the number of youngsters who are considered learning disabled, while in fact they are seriously emotionally ill. The approaches to such a youngster must take this into consideration. Likewise, we are seeing with increasing frequency youngsters who are severely depressed. Those of you who have suffered through a depressive episode (and I do not just mean an episode where one is sad or "down"), realize how much energy and vitality is sapped by the depressive phenomenon. Children who are involved in this type of a depression are likewise unable to muster the energy or cognitive resources required for adequate learning. Suicide is the second major cause of deaths for young people, second only to accidents. The suicide rate for young people has *tripled* in the last 20 years. It is likely that much of the drug use seen in the adolescent population is based upon their attempts to soothe and ease the pain, one of these elements being the element of depression. Unless there is an accurate clinical assessment of the youngster's capabilities and potential, the depth of the problem may not be realized. Even excellent clinicians often underestimate the severity of illness. In addition, valuable time is lost if appropriate treatment is not offered. The young person must have an appropriate amount of "conflict-free personality" to take advantage of any educational opportunity.

A brief list of factors that "neutralize" or minimize limits should also be offered. Among the list I would include:

A. Psychological freedom for staff members.
B. The prevention of problems through participatory activity.
C. Emphasizing untapped and creative potential.
D. A redefiniton of problems.
E. Development of skills leading to insight.
F. The *integration of effort through cooperation and mutual activity* is undoubtedly one of the key elements that help to minimize limits.

SUMMARY

I would like to summarize by emphasizing several points. The recent popular book, *Future Shock*, emphasizes the world and conditions which we must consider as we educate children. However, I would propose that as disrupting as any future shock may be, we must also recognize the concept of "present stress." This too becomes a limiting factor for children, as well as school faculty.

To emphasize, I would enumerate the four following points:

A. *Leadership*: If you are effective as leaders, then the *style* and *quality* of leadership will be one of the major factors that will influence how education is to take place in this age of limits.[10] What is it that you are about? How is this done? What models do you provide for those with whom you have direct contact? *Sensitive* and *supportive* leadership will set a style for your own staff members. If your leadership is effective, those who follow you will also then become sensitive and supportive to others. It is an axiom of administration and management that the style of leadership will filter throughout the system. A bumper sticker that is currently popular states: "Have You Hugged Your Kid Today?" How often do you "hug," in a symbolic way, your own staff members who will then in turn "hug" others with emotional support and understanding. This attitudinal issue will be more powerful and counterbalance more of the limits than people have generally imagined. This will not resolve problems automatically, but it will allow a diminution of scapegoating and infighting, two elements of group dynamics that can waste so much energy and vitality of personnel.

B. *Reduce Waste of Resources*: Although everyone is concerned about wasting resources of supplies and equipment, the biggest waste of resources has to do with wasting people as a resource. Money, if the conditions are right, can always be reappropriated. However, there is no way that people can be automatically "reappropriated" once they are lost. Although this may be a "buyers' market" from the standpoint of hiring teachers, I urge you not to waste the good, sensitive resource that you have in all school systems. Human service organizations are losing personnel to industry because industry for a long time has recognized the important resource that they have in people.

C. *Work Towards Integration of Services*: We are in an era where no one system is totally responsible for the young person that is maturing. No one caring system can afford all the needed financial resources, nor can they do it efficiently by themselves. One cannot avoid the concept of growth and maturation as a moving, dynamic process. From the standpoint of working with and for exceptional children, this will likely take the resources found not only in the school system, but within funding agencies (such as the legislature), medical agencies, social agencies, and for a number of children, the religious community as well. Ethnic groups may be very helpful in organizing and integrating. It will be the responsibility of school personnel to work and interact in the interface among all of these organizations. Some personnel will find this coming quite naturally as a personality trait. The art of negotiating these issues can and must be learned.

The integration of services will help reduce wasting of resources that occurs when one system works in isolation. As Vice President Mondale has said: "I think efforts for children ought to begin with the most manageable and most reasonable first step and that is that the professionals get together and start doing their job. They ought to solve those turf problems for us. They shouldn't come up here and hold us hostage for every one of those professionals. They ought to get together, lock themselves in a room, resolve their differences and say, 'Here is our plan; we have designed it for the kids, not for ourselves.' It's unfortunate that a lot of times, instead of that, they like us to do the compromising and then everybody stands back and criticizes."[11]

Several factors must be considered from the standpoint of integration and mutual interaction:

1. There are problems of *distrust* and *credibility*. Solutions must be found not only at the federal level, but within each community and school, Distrust is one of the biggest social cancers that spreads insidiously, discovered only when it is too late.
2. *Indifference and lack of caring*. Many people fear an attitude of hate. The attitude of indifference is a good deal worse. Please review your own attitude. If you are indifferent, your colleagues working with you will pick this up.

3. *Neglect*. Neglect arises not necessarily from indifference. It is often the result of knowing, and yet failing to take appropriate initiative and action. It is akin to procrastination or hoping that someone else will pick up the issue.
4. *Making choices and decisions*. Although it seems that we face limits regularly, we often fail to act because we do not want to select choices out of the options that we can find. Here again you serve as a model for those with whom you work.

D. *Maintain a healthy perspective and a priority of values*. A major responsibility held by all leaders is to avoid losing perspective. I have concentrated on the "exceptional child," but all children must come within the concern of the school system, and a healthy perspective must be maintained. This in itself will help to minimize the neglect of important issues. It will be necessary that we help each other maintain a perspective, since we all have our blind spots and our areas of favoritism. We must be ready to discuss values, to look at these values in the context and perspective of not only the present, but of the future for which we are also responsible.

Yes there are limits, but we must remember that limits have always existed. It is our responsibility to recognize them, but see them as challenges and with a perspective based upon an attitude of mutual respect. That is our task as professionals who care and are concerned.

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Youth and Work in The 80's

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(Summary of Remarks)

Magnitude and Nature of the Problem

The facts are well known. About 17 percent of teenagers (16–19) are unemployed and about 37 percent of minority teenagers are out of work. Young adults (20–24) fare somewhat better, but not as well as older workers. Moreover, the problem has worsened over time, especially among the minority population. Although the overall problem may ease in the 1980's due to the aging of the baby boom cohort, the minority youth population will continue to grow and will, in all likelihood, continue to face a high risk of being unemployed.

Unemployment rates decline with age and education for all groups, and some have suggested that it may be a transitory phenomenon with few, if any, serious consequences for the long run. But longitudinal studies suggest that those individuals who are unemployed while young are permanently "scarred" by the experience in terms of their later success in the labor market. There are also links between unemployment and crime although causality is more difficult to document in this case.

Current Programs Dealing with Youth Unemployment

We are currently spending about $2 billion on special youth employment programs. These programs include the Job Corps, the Summer Youth Employment Program, and the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977. The latter actually consists of four separate programs, designed to test different approaches to the problem of youth unemployment. Perhaps the most interesting is the Entitlement program which is being tested in 17 sites and involves a job guarantee for low-income youth between the ages of 16 and 19. The guarantee is conditional upon willingness to remain in, or return to, school and on meeting certain performance standards, which include school attendance and grades. The experiment is being carefully evaluated to ascertain its impact on school retention rates and other outcomes of interest.

Directions for Youth Employment Policies in the 1980's

Any new policies should probably be based on the following assumptions.

1. There will probably be a shortage of jobs in the aggregate with youth, especially minority youth, at the end of the hiring queue. We will need targeted job creation programs (which are less inflationary than across-the-board stimulus) to combat this problem. Subsidized job programs in both the public and private sectors could be targeted on noncollege-bound youth, with priority given to those living in low-income or depressed areas.
2. Many youth, but especially the youngest and those from disadvantaged or minority backgrounds, will not be fully competitive in the labor market unless they are made more employable via:

   —occupational skills programs
   —improvements in work habits and attitudes
   —improved educational competencies

   The role of in-school work and community experience in socializing youth for adult roles and in motivating them to acquire both academic and vocational skills should be further tested.
3. Even when there are sufficient employment opportunities and youth are fully qualified for the jobs that exist, there will be a need to improve youth's knowledge of, and access to, the labor market via:

   —career education or career awareness programs
   —improved information on local labor markets
   —placement and job search assistance

In implementing the above, care will need to be taken to ensure that any new programs don't undermine basic educational objectives; but there is little doubt that society will expect educators to be responsive to the problem of youth unemployment in the 1980's.

TESTIMONY OF ISABEL V. SAWHILL BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES (JULY 12, 1979)

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee:

I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear here today to discuss the issue of youth employment policies for the coming decade. The National Commission for Employment Policy is currently examining this issue in some detail and will be forwarding its recommendations to the Congress at the end of the

year. To support the Commission's review, our staff has underway a number of activities including some evaluation of current and past programs, a sponsored research effort on the causes and consequences of youth unemployment, and a number of meetings and seminars with experts and practitioners in the fields of both education and employment. In addition, we have recently concluded 8 days of hearings in 4 cities: Detroit, Memphis, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia; at which we have taken testimony from about 100 witnesses.

I want to emphasize that my testimony represent an *interim staff report* on what we have learned so far and does not represent the final conclusions of the Commission.

As a result of the 1978 revisions to the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, our Commission has recently been reconstituted. The newly appointed members were sworn into office only yesterday and are meeting for the first time today. Thus, they have not yet had an opportunity to formulate a position on these issues. However, I know that you had the benefit of hearing from the very able and knowledgeable former Chairman of the Commission's Youth Task Force, Dr. John Porter, and also from a member of our senior staff, Dr. Ralph Smith. Moreover, I'm sure I speak for the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Eli Ginzberg, and all of its members—both old and new—in expressing my hope that this interim review and our final recommendations will be helpful to the Committee and that you will feel free to call on us for further assistance.

In my testimony, I will briefly discuss (1) the need to be clearer about the goals of youth employment policies, and (2) the most likely ways of achieving various goals, given our current understanding of the problem.

Goals

Although there is a tendency for all social programs to have ill-defined or multiple objectives, making it difficult to establish any agreed-upon performance standards, employment and training programs have been particularly hard to evaluate for this reason. Any new set of policies needs to be built on a firmer understanding of *what* it is we are trying to accomplish, and for *whom*.

At the outset, it needs to be recognized that employment may not be the ultimate, or only, objective for youth. Education and better preparation for adult roles are also important. It is not that long ago that society felt compelled to pass laws restricting the employment of children and making school attendance universal and

compulsory up to a certain age. While the pendulum may now have swung too far in the direction of prolonging childhood and the educational experiences of youth, surely we feel differently about jobs for 14-year-olds than we do for those who are beyond high-school age. And to the extent that we seek to create employment opportunities for adolescents, it may be mainly in the spirit of providing some practical education and exposure to the adult world of work and its values.

While it has often been assumed that work opportunities will permit students to stay in school, thus far no credible study has ever demonstrated a relationship between the two, and analyses of why students drop out of high school suggest that educational and personal reasons are more important than lack of money. Additional evidence on this issue will eventually be provided by the experience with a job guarantee for in-school, low-income youth under YEDPA (Youth Employment Development Projects Act). This experience is being carefully monitored to see whether entitlement to a job increases school retention rates.

school-leaving age—say, 18, for noncollege-bound youth—employment gradually takes on new meaning as a source of both income and status for the individual and his or her family. At this point, it may be more appropriate to emphasize access to relatively permanent jobs, four-fifths of which are in the private sector.

In sum, we need to give much more thought to the appropriate balance between jobs and education, between employment and employability and to how they can be more effectively combined at different ages. Probably there is an implicit model of human development in most people's minds, one which emphasizes learning during childhood and productive work during adulthood but with a good deal of overlap between the two at any age and a lengthy period during which each individual makes the transition from one to the other. Our institutions have often failed to recognize the need for this transition to occur gradually rather than abruptly. *Schools have tended to overspecialize in traditional teaching and learning activities while employers have tended to neglect them in favor of immediate productivity.* These different emphases are to be expected given the very different missions of these institutions. However, some thought should be given to whether new incentives can be created which would realign the behavior of both schools and employers to make them more congruent with the developmental needs of adolescents.

Finally, I want to note that one can productively occupy a

teenager's time without paying them a regular wage. Conversely, one can pay them a wage without productively occupying their time. I believe we need to be clearer about when our objective is to provide on-the-job *learning* experiences to youth, when it is to provide them with *income maintenance*, and when it is desirable to do both simultaneously, even though it may be more expensive than doing either alone.

Still another way of stating this issue is to ask whether the success of a program should be based more on its ability (1) to meet short-term income needs, (2) to provide valuable output for the community or (3) to increase long-term earnings. Income transfer programs fall clearly in the first category, voluntary service programs in the second, and education and training programs in the third. *Employment programs are very much a hybrid which can be tilted in any one of these three directions.*

Policy Options: The General Framework

Our response to youth unemployment should be premised on as clear an understanding as possible of the nature of the underlying problem and the likely costs and benefits—broadly defined—associated with different responses.

Everyone agrees that youth unemployment is too high, especially among the disadvantaged and members of minority groups. But, there is considerable disagreement about the extent to which the solution should be directed toward (1) increasing the number of jobs employers are willing to offer to young people without changing the latter's qualifications; (2) increasing the qualifications of youth and thus their ability to compete for existing job offers; or (3) improving the ability of youth to successfully negotiate the transition from school to work or from one job to another by providing them with more knowledge of where the jobs are and how to obtain them. Table 1 provides a range of policy options grouped under each of these three major strategies. If the problem is *mainly* one of inadequate job opportunities, then solutions should *not* be directed toward improving the employability of the younger generation. Conversely, if the problem is that youth are poorly qualified for the jobs that exist, then something should be done to improve their basic and vocational skills, their work habits, and experience. Alternatively, if the problem is largely the inefficient ways in which youth search for and obtain jobs, then it is this process which should be given the most policy attention. Of course, the issue is further complicated by the fact that the problem may vary depending on which group of youth is being examined.

Moreover, the alternatives are clearly not mutually exclusive. Any new legislation should combine the best elements of each approach and remain sensitive to the diverse needs of different groups of young people.

Increasing The Number of Jobs for Youth

What is the evidence that a "shortage of jobs" is responsible for youth unemployment?

First, it is now well established that youth employment, and especially black youth employment, is highly sensitive to both aggregate economic conditions and to differences in job availability between areas. Richard Freeman estimates that the increase in aggregate unemployment between 1969 and 1977 was responsible for a decline in the proportion of black youth employed of 12 percentage points. He also notes that differences in local unemployment rates are the major determinant of the proportion of youth employed in each Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). A number of different researchers have come up with corroboratory findings on this issue.

Table 1: Policy Options for Reducing Youth Unemployment

A. *Increasing the Number of Jobs for Youth*
   1. Stimulate the national economy
   2. Create jobs (via wage subsidies or tax credits for public or private employers) targeted on young people, or on certain subgroups of young people, or on areas where these groups live
   3. Reduce the minimum wage or create a youth differential in the minimum wage
   4. Reduce discrimination against youth, especially minority youth, on the part of employers
   5. Reduce competition for existing jobs by curbing the supply of undocumented workers

B. *Increasing Employability*
   1. Increase specific occupational skills
   2. Improve basic socialization and motivation for both education and work
   3. Increase basic educational competencies (reading, writing, arithmetic) and life coping skills

C. *Improving Labor Market Transitions*
   1. Increase young people's general knowledge of the world of work and of different career options
   2. Provide young people with more specific information about job vacancies in their own local labor market
   3. Teach young people how to search for and obtain a job

Second, there is little evidence that youth are spurning available jobs. For example:

—Ninety percent of both black and white youths accept their first job offer.

—Four-fifths of unemployed heads of household who are under 25 say they are willing to accept a minimum wage job.

—Close examination of newspaper want ads, which are frequently cited as evidence that jobs exist, shows that most of these jobs are not effectively available to youth: they are too far away, require too much training or experience, or have already been filled.

Third, youth are at the end of the hiring queue. Employers prefer not to hire youth, and especially minority youth, if other workers are readily available. Four different studies of employer hiring practices conducted during the 1970's indicate that from two-thirds to four-fifths of employers do not hire youth for regular jobs until the ages of 20 or 21. Yet only about two-fifths of any cohort of 18 year olds continues their education beyond high school. These barriers set up by employers—whether due to discriminiation or their perception that teenagers are not very reliable or productive relative to the costs of employing them—tend to disappear in tight labor markets as the supply of other workers is exhausted. Of course, such barriers could be reduced by more direct means. However, any attempt to capture a larger share of existing job opportunities for youth will tend to simply reshuffle the unemployed. Thus, there is likely to be resistance to such measures as youth subminimums, tax credits, and even more vigorous enforcement of equal employment opportunity (EEO) laws. Improving the qualifications of youth so that they will have a more favored position in the hiring queue may help a little and is discussed further below.

What the foregoing suggests is that an expansion of aggregate job opportunities is a necessary, even if not a sufficient, prerequisite to resolving the youth employment problem. While it is sometimes argued that stimulating the economy will simply draw more adult women (or illegal aliens) into the labor market, such an expansion would also have major benefits for youth, and especially for minority youth, if the evidence cited above is any guide. Certainly, without such an expansion, we will largely be engaged in a process of musical chairs.

Of course, stimulating the economy to produce more jobs may have inflationary consequences. Since there is currently some dispute about the sensitivity of inflation to the level of aggregate demand, and the rate of unemployment at which an

acceleration of inflation occurs, it is difficult to evaluate this argument without opening up broader issues of economic policy. However, I believe there is some agreement that targeted job creation programs are less inflationary than a simple expansion of overall demand via monetary or fiscal policy.

Any program targeted exclusively on youth will, of course, run the risk that youth will be substituted for adults in existing jobs. There are, however, several reasons why I think this need not be an overriding concern. First, if the program is deficit financed, it will increase aggregate employment and thus will not be a zero-sum-game. Second, all of the research on this subject suggests that the employment of youth is quite sensitive to the costs of hiring them but that, because of market segmentation, there is little substitution of youth for adults as a result of a shift in the relative costs of employing them.

It may be desirable, then, to give some consideration to an expansion of targeted job creation programs for noncollege-bound young adults, giving priority to those residing in economically depressed or low-income areas, and making opportunities available in both the public and private sectors. One of the points stressed most frequently at the Commission's recent field hearings was the importance of involving the private sector in this effort. However, even the most successful jobs program will do little to overcome more basic deficiencies in education or socialization for work. Other policies are needed to improve the long-term prospects of younger and/or less employable youth who need additional services which employers are not equipped to provide. In the absence of employability development for these groups, jobs programs may only serve to postpone unemployment and the alienation associated with an inability to compete for career-ladder jobs in the regular economy.

Increasing Employability

Many youth, but especially the youngest and those from disadvantaged or minority backgrounds, are not ready for the labor market and cannot compete successfully with inexperienced adults or other youth for available jobs. This does not mean that they should not be exposed to the world of work. But it does mean that any such exposure should be part of a broader program designed to improve their employability. Such programs should be designed to:

—Teach specific occupational skills
—Develop good work habits and attitudes
—Improve educational competencies

Premature placement of youth with these needs in unstructured job or work experience programs may lead to personal failure, to the learning of bad work habits, and to disappointed expectations on the part of the youth themselves and the employing organizations.

What is the evidence that some youth are not employable or ready for regular jobs? Much of it is anecdotal or based on the reports of employers, youth-serving agencies, or those who have interviewed youth from disadvantaged communities. *These reports indicate that a lack of specific occupational skills is not the major problem and suggests that vocational education programs, although valuable in some forms and for some people, are not the major answer.* Most employers prefer to train their own workers, but they are looking for young people who have mastered the basic skills (reading, written and oral communication, calculating) and who have good work habits and attitudes. The research findings on vocational educational are somewhat inconclusive, but one carefully done recent study confirms this conclusion; male high school graduates who have participated in vocational programs have no more success in the labor market than those who have not, after adjusting for other differences between the two groups.

There is little hard data with which to independently evaluate the attitudinal factors which employers cite frequently as reasons for their failure to hire or retain young workers. *What evidence there is on the strength of the work ethic and on work habits (e.g., absenteeism) does not suggest that youth as a whole differ very significantly from adults, but the sociological literature suggests there are some alienated subgroups.* Even among the latter, most youth *want to work* but may have difficulty accepting the authority and discipline of the workplace and the demeaning nature of what they perceive to be dead-end jobs. In addition, these jobs must compete with some readily-available sources of nonearned income and the allure of peer group activities. The appropriate policy response to these kinds of problems is not readily apparent but greater reliance on community-based organizations and leaders as socializing agents may be part of the solution.

We know more about the educational competencies of youth than about their attitudes and work habits. Educational attainment has been rising at a rapid pace, especially among minorities. Between 1960 and 1977 the proportion of the population, aged 25 to 29, with a high school degree increased from 66 to 87 percent among whites and from 38 to 74 percent among blacks. But simultaneously, and partly because a larger proportion of the population remains in school for a longer period,

there has been a decline in school performance as evidenced by declining test scores. Perhaps even more disturbing than the overall decline are the large disparities by race, religion, and social class. Although we have made some progress toward providing equality of educational opportunity, we are far from having achieved equality of educational results. Compensatory education programs have been focused on elementary school children, and improvements in the ability to read have occurred at this level, but there has been no similiar progress in improving the educational competencies of disadvantaged minority students in our secondary schools (outside of the southeast).

What the above data suggests is that *it may be time to put somewhat less emphasis on bribing youth to stay in school and somewhat more emphasis on school performance or basic skills acquisition in a variety of institutional settings.* At the same time, there is clear evidence that high school completion, as well as academic achievement and ability, improve one's employment prospects. Even after adjusting for ability and socioeconomic status, dropouts are almost twice as likely as graduates to be unemployed.

Currently youth drop out of school for many reasons, but lack of a job or of financial reasons is not prominent among them. For young women the major reason is pregnancy and those who get pregnant are more likely to be poor students and to dislike school than those who don't. For young men, the major reason is inability to cope with either the academic or disciplinary demands of the school. Moreover, educators tell us that drop-out prone youth can usually be identified in junior high school. *Thus, drop-out prevention programs need to start early and to focus on the reasons for poor academic motivation and performance.* It is also significant that most drop-outs later regret their decision. They need second chances to obtain the education that they missed at an earlier age.

Although work experience while in school will not necessarily reduce dropping out, it *may* improve academic motivation and socialization for adult roles. Virtually every independent group which has reviewed the relationship between education and work has concluded that youth should have more nonacademic experiences while they are still in school. The need for stronger linkages between education and work was also a theme which emerged strongly at the Commission's field hearings. It was not only suggested that the educational establishment had failed to expose many students to practical experiences outside the classroom, but it was also noted that manpower programs for youth too rarely contain an educational component. The cooperative education model, in which students alternate between attending school and acquiring practical experience in their chosen

field, is favored by many, but currently only about 6 percent of all secondary school students are enrolled in such programs. Data from a study of the high school class of 1972 indicate that while 76 percent of the class had some type of paid or unpaid work experience in high school, only 14 percent were engaged in work that was related to their studies and only one-third were involved in work they thought they would like to do in the future. Although the cooperative education model has a lot of intuitive appeal, there is not much good evidence on the likely costs and benefits of any attempt to expand it. However, young people may be better motivated to learn if they can see the practical applications and ultimate usefulness of what they are learning. *Thus, it may be that in-school work experience, vocational education and vocational exploration should all be viewed as activities which have the potential to improve academic motivation and basic competencies as well as socialization for work. Whether they can meet this challenge is still unclear.*

In general, the value of work experience will depend on how it is structured, what kind of supervision and learning experiences are provided, and the different learning styles and needs of the youth themselves. In some cases, employment can complement and enhance the value of education in preparing young people for productive roles. In others, it may compete in an unhealthy fashion with the acquisition of basic skills which have greater longer-term payoffs. At the same time, there is a growing concern about the tendency of the educational establishment to force every school-age youth into the same academic mold. *With a much higher proportion of the population attending high school than in the past, some argue that we should be providing more educational options including more experiential learning programs to meet the needs of a diverse group of students.*

Improving Labor Market Transitions

A large proportion of youth unemployment is due neither to a shortage of jobs or to a lack of employability; rather it is due to the continual shifting of young people between school and work or from job to job before they settle into a more permanent career. About half of all unemployment among 16 and 17 year olds is due to initial entry into the labor force. Among 18–24 year old males, entry unemployment is less important but job mobility is high. One-fourth of them change jobs in a year compared to less than one-tenth of 35–54 year old men.

In principle there is no reason why entry into the labor force or a change of jobs must be accompanied by an intervening period of unemployment. Job search can take place while one

is still in school or working for one's existing employer. In Great Britain, for example, their public employment exchange for youth provides assistance to 80 percent of all school leavers, thereby helping to reduce unemployment associated with the initial transition from school to work.

Labor market transition problems appear to be an important source of the racial disparity in unemployment rates. Research has shown that white youth are much more likely than blacks to enter the labor force or change jobs *without* experiencing a spell of unemployment. This partly reflects the differences in job search mechanisms used. Most jobs are obtained by informal means (friends, relatives, direct application), and minority youth tend not to have access to a "successful" network of job contacts.

There are three ways in which public policy can work to improve labor market transitions for youth in general and minority youth in particular:

First, more programs can be developed to increase young people's general knowledge of the world of work and of different career options so that they can make better decisions and spend less time shopping for the right job. Studies indicate that young people are currently ill-informed about the range of occupations available, entry requirements, career paths, and rates of pay. Although career education programs have been developed to deal with this set of problems, it is difficult to say, at this early date, how effective they will be. Secondary school teachers have been somewhat resistant to this concept and youth themselves are often not interested in career information until shortly before they enter the labor market. Most school counsellors are poorly prepared to assist students in this area.

Second, young people can be provided with more specific information about job vacancies in their own local labor market. There is currently a limited amount of high quality labor market information available either through school counsellors, help wanted ads, or the Employment Service. On the other hand, the difficulties of developing good labor market information should not be underestimated.

Third, greater emphasis could be placed on teaching youth how to search for and obtain a job. Many employable youth simply do not know how to locate jobs (using existing sources of information) or how to apply and sell themselves to a potential employer. For example, over 90 percent of today's youth do not know how to write a correct and complete business letter in applying for a job. Yet, these are skills which can be taught and which have lasting value since they can be used on every new job search.

The Future of Public and Private Schools in the 80's

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INTRODUCTION

In addressing the future of the public and the private schools in the ensuing decade, I would like to borrow for a moment a tool from this country's business community—that of market analysis. I realize that it is somewhat unorthodox for those of us in the education profession to conceive of our services as marketing opportunities. But, nonetheless, it appears to me that any useful discussion of the future of public and private schools becomes, in essence, a forecasting of education marketing opportunities. Admittedly, education presents a distinguishably different commodity than private enterprise, but managing and developing educational services may bear many more similarities to the business community than differences. Business and industry have long known that in order to promote acceptance and ultimate use of their products by the public, the development of an appropriate "marketing mix" is essential. Conventionally, this marketing mix addressed the nature of the product which would best satisfy the consumer, and the varying degrees of its promotion and price needed to make the product as desirable as possible.

We, in education, have been slower to adopt such a perspective, despite the fact that many of us consider our product to be among the more significant offered to the public. In this regard, perhaps we educators have acted a little bit like we are the only telephone company in town, and, while public education undoubtedly holds a substantial share of the current market, we increasingly find ourselves in competition for public dollars, particularly in times of escalating prices and inflationary economics. Therefore, it seems to me, that projecting the course of our nation's public and private schools during the 1980's commands a marketing perspective. Let me go further and suggest that the development of appropriate marketing mixes based on accurate market forecasting will be essential to the survival of schools, both public and private, during the ensuing decade.

I would like to project the next decade's marketing prognosis for the schools, where the product is the child adequately prepared for life as a productive citizen, and the consumer is a society at large, a parent of today, and a world of tomorrow.

The Consumer

Let us first consider the consumer. Undeniably the eighties will bring to the forefront its own array of significant issues, and its own stable of challenges and opportunities. The people of America, however, will not change dramatically in their demand for a sound education, and it is here that I believe that we have inaccurately forecasted the public's desires. The 1978 Gallup poll shows that public perception of what makes a good school has been remarkably consistent since 1919. Despite all the changes that have occurred in the education marketplace during the last ten years, parents are still saying that they want: good teachers, a relevant curriculum, and sound school buildings.

Much attention has been given recently in the education community to the "back to basics" movement of the consumer market. Contrary to popular opinion, I do not believe that there is a "back to basics" trend in America today in terms of the *conventional* curriculum. I believe that there is, however, a public demand which is back to order and back to rationality as we move forward into the future. And, I believe further that this phenomenon is not a *trend* for the public, but that it has been a fundamental desire of America's parents over the course of time. If I may again use the most recent Gallup poll on public education as an indicator of consumer attitudes, it is apparent that lack of discipline has been cited consistently during the last decade as the major problem facing public schools. Again, I hold that we, as managers of the educational enterprise, have misinterpreted public demand for an orderly, systematic, and regulated school environment as a signal to mass produce yesterday's learning experiences for young people. Not so! The typical education consumer realizes that a steady diet composed only of the "basics" of yesterday will be of little use in tomorrow's world of computer technology and issues of global impact.

In assimilating our rapidly expanding technology, however, parents will not change in their demand for order and quality; nor students in their need for challenge. These principles are paramount, always marketable, always attractive in the educational environment. Additionally, parents will not change in

their desire to be assured that their children master the essential communication and work skills that will enable them to become successful and productive members of their society.

What has changed, however, is that we have today a more capable and enlightened populace than ever before. The generation of parents today are more astute than their predecessors in assessing the quality of the products they are purchasing. Today's parents are more discriminating consumers, less reverent of archaic institutional practice and less patient with inept educators.

Perhaps, though the most dramatic change in the education market will occur not because of changes in the basic consumer desires for education of their children, but will simply be brought about as a result of the number of children who are to be educated. It has been projected that 1985 will see the school enrollment down some 3 million students from only a decade earlier. It is this reduction in school age population which I predict will have the most profound effect on the marketing decisions of the private and public schools in the eighties.

The Competitors

Let us consider then, the competitors. Included here are the two great and noble institutions—the public and private schools of this nation. Someone has remarked about America's "love affair with education" and, undoubtedly, we live in a country endowed with the most prominent educational structure in the world. The private schools of this country possess roots extending to the very founding of the earliest colonies. Thirty years ago, 3 out of every 4 college graduates were products of private schools. While today this share of the market belongs to public schools, we should not forget that it was the private schools of this nation which provided the impetus and models for the modern concept of "free and universal education."

It has been suggested that the ensuing decade will witness a great merger of the two systems. It is my opinion, however, that there will be no substantial merger between the public and private schools. And, further, if such a merger were eminent, it would appear to me to reduce the vitality of American education because it would reduce a fundamental freedom of choice.

As I believe that merger is neither desirable nor likely, it is also doubtful to me that an economic mechanism designed to make that merger feasible will ever receive widespread acceptance. The private schools wish to remain private—they wish

to maintain their option to either admit or refuse admittance to potential students. They wish to maintain their individuality, their latitude. Should a mechanism such as the voucher system be instituted, private schools would, essentially, become public schools, in that they would be obligated to accept any student who produced a voucher and requested enrollment.

Today there is apparently enough sentiment for a voucher plan in California that the early projections are favorable for its passage in the upcoming election. There, the voucher proposition to be placed before California voters has been carefully worded for maximum voter appeal. However plausible the concept may seem in California, I would suggest that in the aftermath of the rhetoric and chaos surrounding Proposition 13, the state of education there is a most atypical testing ground for the voucher concept. Additionally, I would project much more ardent opposition than is currently being predicted.

Consider the recent initiative in Michigan in November of 1978. There the voucher concept was soundly defeated, and private schools played no small part in that defeat. The private schools, in observing their public sector colleagues, noted long ago that the receipt of public gold does not necessarily mean glittering success, or even assure fulfillment of the school mission.

Public schools have the advantage of public money; they are owned by constituents. They reflect the nuances of our society, and thus have been used as a medium to address a plethora of social ills. And, while many of us admit to it reluctantly, the social use of the public schools has perhaps served to reduce, rather than to enhance, their effectiveness. Let me expand upon the last observation. . . . During the last two decades, significant energy and resources have been directed toward improving the quality of education in this country and toward assuring equal educational opportunity for every child. To this end, we can point to many successes. But, we also must admit the great irony that, in attempting to use education to promote solutions of pressing national ills, from desegregation to drug abuse, we have allowed those causes, all worthwhile, to erode the credibility of the institution.

As Christopher Jencks explicitly advised in 1972, ". . . school reform cannot bring about significant social changes outside the schools." The ambitious social goals of the preceding decade have had the effect of eroding local control of public education, and undermining the stability and predictability of the public schools.

It is not that our reasons were wrong, but, public education, in its zeal to influence life in this nation, allowed itself to become less a challenging climate for scholarly endeavor, and more a political instrument and a forum for highly emotional causes. Public schools of the 1980's must overcome this. Public confidence in institutions of education needs to be reaffirmed.

The flow of federal dollars to the public schools has led to debilitating red tape and regulatory overburden. America's public schools are regulated to a disadvantage in a competitive marketplace. In their article on how school control has been taken from the people, L. Harmon Ziegler and others provide a clear critique of the evaluation of schools as an instrument of social reform. In their thesis, it is suggested that the philosophical underpinnings of federal intervention in public schools are flawed. However, flawed, though, the courts and the legislature may well seal the fate of public education. Due to bussing regulations, public schools have lost what was once a significant edge of the convenient, neighborhood school, particularly in the cities. The demise of the neighborhood school in this country has had a devastating effect on public participation and knowledge of the schools.

THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN COMPETITORS

The most obvious distinction between "competitors" is the private school's ability to select its students. While certainly their practices may not include discriminatory criteria, the private schools maintain an ability to structure entrance requirements which has been unavailable to the public schools. Consequently, the private schools do seem to possess an edge in their ability to shape a student body that is more consistent with the individual mission and tone of the school.

Whether or not they are "better" programs, the private schools of this country have promoted an image of quality and, advertently or inadvertently, that promotion has often been done in direct contrast to the public schools. The point here, is that the private schools have aggressively sought to market the quality of their product. The public schools, however, have not employed such approaches, perhaps because they have enjoyed a sort of "monopolistic" advantage in the public education market. To the contrary, public schools may have become an agent of mediocrity in promoting and accepting only minimal performance standards. Public school educators may have actually adopted suppressive approaches, and "easy going" expectations that may, in fact, impede the schools from attaining

educational excellence, whereas private schools must be excellent in order to survive.

Private schools are schools of choice; they provide alternative learning environments designed to meet unique needs of select student populations. Public schools are generalists, striving hard to maintain a program which they hope will have something for everyone. Historically, I think it might be offered that public school efforts to adapt have come only after substantial outside pressure. Planned change, responsive to the movement of time, simply has not taken place in the public schools.

Public education of the past decades has concentrated on accommodating the educational needs of highly specialized populations—particularly the minority and the poor. It is increasingly alleged that the public schools fail to provide appropriate services to the "average" student. The American middle class is becoming more demanding in its expectations of the schools, and the private schools are responding and are benefiting. Future enrollment projections for private schools reflect the steady 1 to 2% increase which seemed to stabilize during the last decade. So, despite an overall decrease in the student population, private schools can statistically be expected to experience growth in enrollments. Until public schools begin to better serve the average student, private schools will continue to be successful in recruiting that student.

There are other factors also distinguishing the competitors. In some ways, collective bargaining has tended to further restrict the ability of public schools to demand staff responsiveness and to command outstanding performance by the teaching professionals. Today's teacher unions are a most serious power block with legal authority vested in them by state legislatures. Organized labor in the public schools has the effect of furthering mediocrity and reducing individual teacher sensitivity to, and respect for, the ultimate consumer of their services. By condoning collective bargaining, even advancing it, the legislatures of this country have dealt the public schools a problem card, and have created yet another element counter-productive to excellance in education.

Another difference between public and private schools is their ability to command the interest and support of parents. The private schools of this country are more responsive to the parents whose children they serve. Perhaps because of a philosophy, or perhaps because responsiveness is absolutely necessary if schools are to survive; private schools appear to involve their parents. The results of a recent NIE study indicate that private school curricula respond to desires of parents to a significantly greater extent than the public school curricula.

I think, however, the single greatest feature which distinguishes the private and the public schools is that the private school parent pays a direct tuition to the school—a sum of money out of their pockets. It is not a tax assessed on property value, but a standard fee imposed by the school. In return, the parent expects to receive something of value and demands the school to provide a return on the dollar. In the taxing structure of public education, the direct payment concept is somehow shadowed and lost, to the ultimate disadvantage of the schooling process.

A Marketing Plan for the Eighties

In the 80's I would forecast greater competition between the public and private schools for a smaller number of students, and would suggest that the private schools currently have the competitive edge. Furthermore, I foresee the public schools undergoing substantial "product" changes in order to retain its current share of the student market. Such product refinement in the public sector might include some of the following marketing adjustments.

First, the public schools will pursue more aggressively the concepts of packaging their products and more adequately informing and enlightening the public of available products and services. The unprecedented effort of public educators to reestablish contact and working relationship with parents has already begun, and will continue to be pursued with vigor. The emphasis in this effort will be on involvement of parents in the meaningful education of their children. A number of the prominent education organizations have initiated substantial public relations campaigns, and there is evidence that this is having some effects. The most recent Gallup poll shows a 6% reduction in the number of parents desiring additional information about their schools. But the number who desire still more information is in excess of 50%. To have a substantial impact, education is going to need a major image overhaul. I think it's time to dispatch our interviewers in the malls and shopping centers on weekends to ask the consumer what we, the educator, can do to provide a better education product.

Secondly, I think that the schools of the eighties will adopt a "parent-centered" learning strategy, similar to the model advanced by Schaefer and others. Education will increasingly grow to rely upon the parent as the keystone, as the apex of the learning experience. Resources of the schools will be increasingly reallocated to work through, not with, the parent to

educate the child. It is conceivable to me that late in the next decade, we can anticipate a small, but significant tendency for highly educated parents to pull their children at least partway out of the formal education system, offering them home instruction instead. Parents and students will sign short term learning contracts with the nearby school, committing them to teach/learn certain courses. Students might continue attending school for social and athletic activities or for subjects they cannot learn on their own or under the tuteledge of parents or family friends.

Third, the public schools will be made more challenging and demanding of students. Programs such as Jesse Jackson's "push for excellence" are leading the way for this nation's increasing challenge to the student in the classroom. Diversity in educational programs and increased options in educational environments will evolve in the public schools. Sound alternative schools with rigorous academic standards and behavioral expectations will emerge in the public sector. Public education of the eighties may well gain a new and unprecedented level of public support by developing qualitative options for the next generation of Americans.

Similarly, the public schools will return to maintaining a code of ethics, stressing moral conduct of children. The private schools have never abandoned this important and highly marketable aspect of the school experience. The public schools will increasingly confront issues of mortality, focusing upon tolerance and human consideration. Of particular import to the public schools will be revolution of what Willard Wertz has designated as the twin immoralities of democracy—ignorance of the issues and non-participation in the governmental process.

Fourth, in a world where listening will surpass reading as the major skill required by society, literacy will possess substantially different meaning. Unlike today, reading will no longer determine a child's success in school. Additionally, the ability to anticipate and cope with constant change will be crucial in tomorrow's technologically dynamic and pulsating environment. The successful curriculum of the eighties will focus on the assessment of novel situations rather than rote assimilation of information. Experienced-based curricula will become more prevalent and will shape the problem-solving skills necessary for survival in a rapidly changing world. The focus of instruction will be on engaging students in hands-on experiences, and the curriculum focus will grow to a global perspective. The students of the next decade will have knowledge of technology unparalleled in today's school setting with instantaneous access to

the contents of any book, magazine, or fact ever published at fingertip recall via miniature computers.

Fifth, the public schools will become less regulated because parents and educators will demand a reduction in the persistent red tape and bureaucratic meddling in the local affairs of schools. The deregulation of oil companies could hardly be of more national importance than that of the deregulation of the education enterprise. The future and the fortune of this nation rests with its number one natural resource—its children of today who will provide the leadership necessary for tomorrow's survival. And I predict that the debate and controversy sparked by the oil lobby during the deregulation proposals will not even hold a candle to the building public reaction to the regulatory overburden imposed on the schools of America's communities by state and federal agencies. We are building toward a revolution of public sentiment unprecedented in this country's first two hundred years.

Finally, the disparities in pricing public and private education will be reduced. Public school taxes will continue to increase at rates which exceed tuition in the private schools. In the short run, despite the tax revolt, the majority of voters will allocate increasing sums of money for public education. Federal funds for public education will increase. The private schools however, will increase direct fees at a lower rate than taxes. In the end, the cost of education will become more similar and therefore more competitive. The pricing structure will continue to be reconsidered, and "the fair price of a fair education" will become a major issue during the 1980's. Public schools will initiate a system of dollar for dollar accountability. By this, I mean a system of direct cash flow from the public to the school system, perhaps even the school in which the child enrolls. I foresee contracts for services provided to feepayers (taxpayers) in which the services to be received by the child will be clearly spelled out, along with the parents', students', educators', and communities' role. In essence, I see a bill of goods, a system of invoice, and payment.

In the course of the next decade there will be an influx of private schools for special populations, and those schools will seek to use the public schools as "flow through" vehicles for subcontracting of services. Already, public and private schools have evidenced a number of shared time programs, and these are likely to increase. Shared time will evidence more public school use of private school services than is presently the case.

I would further project the development of systems or networks of private schools (perhaps regional or national in scope)

creating fiscal advantages in regards to economies of scale, and enabling private schools to more effectively compete with the public school systems. It is conceivable to me that franchise schools, build upon their own "secret recipes" will emerge in the eighties.

IN CONCLUSION

I envision that both the public and the private school will continue to provide viable education services in this country. I think that the increase in competition will be beneficial in the sense that each will become more aware of the other's programs and services to a greater degree than at present. To me, it would seem that the richness and the quality of American education might best be served by fair competition, and I would foresee the decade of the eighties as being a period of long needed product refinement for schools in both the public and private sector.

Productivity—Doing More with Less?

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Let us begin with a few facts regarding the nature of productivity in a larger context. First of all, although other nations have increased their productivity compared to ours, it is still overwhelmingly true that the United States' worker produces more goods per hour than workers of any other nation. (See Chart A.) It is also true that the United States' capacity for innovation is still very great, especially if one looks at the listing of current innovative practices which are models for other nations to aspire to. We often need to be aware of the relationship between productivity and education in that, as Edward Dennison said in March, 1971, "Better education accounts for 40% of U.S. economic growth of the last two decades." We also normally think of innovation and productivity as going along together. The evidence suggests, however, that increased productivity tends to make one think of "tuning up" the existing engines of production, thereby stifling the creative force which involves standing back and looking at the process with a new pair of glasses,

Chart A: Productivity Facts—1978 (percent of U.S. output per worker)

U.S.	100%
W. GERMANY	81
SWEDEN	64
FRANCE	63
JAPAN	61
BRITAIN	42
ITALY	41

U.S. current innovation is *very* high

1. Glass fiber-optics for voice transmission.
2. Bacteria (modified genetically) make insulin.
3. Bacteria (modified genetically) eat oil spills.
4. Voice-actuated package sorter (UPS).
5. Duplication of photo synthesis in lab.
6. Laser fusion of 2 trillion watts.
7. Soybean (DNA) produces its own fertilizer.
8. Super-pure silicon crystals (space shuttle).

—*Dun's Review*, March '79

and thus improving productivity as measured in widgets produced in worker hour. They actually impede innovation.

Having made these general comments, let us look at some different approaches to the topic of productivity, particularly through four different views of the concept of effectiveness. The first is economic, meaning simply that we correlate as closely as possible the products of the educational system with the skills needed in the labor force. Economic effectiveness, then, is another set of words for manpower planning. Needless to say, it is as much an art as it is a science at the present time in most Western nations and the Soviet Union as well. The second kind of effectiveness is technological, which means that we produce the highest number of graduates possible for the lowest cost in dollars and human resources. Economies in production enable us to increase our effectiveness in this technological sense. The third kind of effectiveness is fiscal, meaning simply that we minimize taxes while meeting American social goals. The American principle here is that discretionary income on the part of the individual citizen is a good thing, and that individuals should make choices about finances as often as is possible. The fourth kind of effectiveness is social, meaning that we reduce inequities based on family, class, race and sex through the educational system. (See Chart B)

Chart B: Effectiveness—Four Views

I. *Economic*—Turning out students with skills needed in labor force. (manpower plans).
II. *Technological*—efficient use of resources, little waste (production economies).
III. *Fiscal*—Minimizing taxes while meeting social goals. (discretionary income good).
IV. *Social*—reducing inequities based on family, class, race, sex

Virtually impossible to achieve all four types simultaneously.

(Benson and Hodgkinson, *Implementing the Learning Society*, Jossey-Bass, 1974.)

The important generalization from these four kinds of effectiveness is that it is impossible to accomplish them all at the same time, because the accomplishment of one may slow down the accomplishment of another. This principle widely referred to as "Murphy's law" applies not only to individuals but to social programs as well in which the accomplishment of certain objectives creates a new set of problems that were not entirely anticipated previously. (See Chart C.) As a matter of fact, certain

institutions of higher education that work hard to develop a particular value set in their students find that "Murphy's law" means that they also overdo the exact opposite of the value set. Which may be an important understanding for educators in thinking about effectiveness. (See Chart D.)

Chart C: Accomplishments—New Problems

"Successes" of the Technological Era	Resulting Problems of Being "Too Successful"
• Prolonging the life span	• Overpopulation; problems of the aged
• Weapons for national defense	• Hazard of mass destruction through nuclear and biological weapons
• Machine replacement of manual and routine labor	• Exacerbated unemployment
• Advances in communication and transportation	• Urbanization; "shrinking world"; vulnerability of a complex society to breakdown (Natural or deliberate)
• Efficiency	• Dehumanization of the world of work
• Growth in the power of systematized knowledge	• Threats to privacy and freedoms (e.g., surveillance technology, "bio-engineering"); "knowledge barrier" to underclass
• Affluence	• Increased per capita environmental impact, pollution, energy shortage
• Satisfaction of basic needs; ascendance up the "need-level hierarchy"	• Worldwide revolutions of "rising expectations"; rebellion against "non-meaningful work"; unrest among affluent students
• Expanded power of human choice	• Management breakdown as regards control of consequences of technological applications
• Expanded wealth of developed nations	• Intrinsically increasing gap between have and have-not nations
• Development of prepotent high-technology capability	• Apparent economic necessity of continuous war to use up the output of the "megamachine"

(From Willis Harman)

Chart D: Social and Political Ideologies May Emphasize

(1) "Transcendence"	(2) "Impulse"	(3) "Reason"	(4) "Conscience"	(5) "God's Will"
		(Leading to, At Best, A Reasonable Emphasis on)		
Spirituality	Freedom	Rationality	Loyalty	Revealed Truth
Perspective	Spontaneity	Moderation	Dedication	Dignity
Pan-Humanism	Creativity	Thoughtfullness	Tradition	Salvation
Idealism	Perceptiveness	Meliorism	Organization	Righteousness
Altruism	Participation	Flexibility	Order	Eschatology
Mysticism	Sensory Awareness	Calculation	Obedience	Worship
Detachment	Self-Actualization	Planning	Self-Sacrifice	Awe
Reverence	Joy And Love	Prudence	Justice	Submission
		(But With A Corresponding Potential For A Pathological Degree Of)		
Dropping Out	Permissiveness	Abstraction	Authoritarianism	Bigotry
Passivity	Impulsiveness	Theory	Rigidity	Fanaticism
Mysticism	Anarchy	Rationalism	Righteousness	Righteousness
Cultism	Lawlessness	Indecision	Despotism	Dogmatism
Unworldliness	Chaos	Dehumanization	Sadomasochism	Hypocrisy
Superstition	Nihilism	Scientism	Punitiveness	Superstition
Withdrawal	Violence	Dogmatism	Fanaticism	Passivity

In thinking about the relationship between productivity and quality, it may be significant to compare American approaches to those of Japanese industry. (See Chart E.) The United States' processes, for example, in making color television sets is geared toward very high rates of production. Sales are usually handled through independent entrepeneurs, and repair services repair not only the sets made by one company, but the sets made by virtually all other companies as well. Thus, quality concerns do not return to haunt the manufacturer. They tend to be taken care of at other levels by other organizations. The Japanese situation, however, is quite different in that the manufacturer of color television sets is directly responsible for the sales offices who are a part of the company, and repair services are provided only by company-owned and authorized repair places. This means, of course, that the engineer who works on the new product development line at company headquarters may well

Chart E: Color TV Production—U.S. and Japan

	I. Manufacture	II. Sales	III. Repair
U.S.		Independents	Independents
	Company A	A	A
	Company B	B	B
	Company C	C	C

	I. Manufacture	II. Sales	III. Repair
JAPAN	Company A	→ Company A	→ Company A
	Company B	→ Company B	→ Company B
	Company C	→ Company C	→ Company C

(J.M. Juran, *Management Review*, Nov. 1978)
U.S. = High Productivity
Japan = High *Quality*

be apprenticed out for six months to work in a repair shop of that very same company to see how well technological innovations work in the field. He returns to the company with a greater sense of the importance of quality. Immediately after World War II, Japanese industrialists came to the conclusion that they could not compete with the United States on productivity dimensions alone, and they therefore sought to increase quality in a radical way. It is obvious that they have achieved their goal, just as we have maintained our goal of high productivity.

Let us now look briefly at some of the ways of measuring productivity itself. (See Chart F.) Basically, there are five ways of thinking about productivity in social service organizations. The first and still most frequently used productivity measure is a "time and motion" measure of how many things or services are produced per worker per hour. This, as we have seen with the television set example, is a typically American view of the world, largely putting aside questions of quality in favor of questions of high productivity. Thus a hospital is seen as "productive" if all its beds are filled, even if the beds are filled with corpses. A social worker is deemed to be productive if he or she has a high case load regardless of what happens to those individuals. And in schools, those schools with a high ADA, or average daily attendance, are judged to be productive, regardless of how much students learn.

It is ironical that in the social sector we leave out the thing which is of greatest concern, which is increasing the quality of life of the citizen served. It is not that we cannot do these things (hospitals could easily talk about the number of people who entered the hospital sick and left it cured), but the fact that once again we are aping American industry in our thinking about the process.

The second definition of productivity that can be used in social service areas is the assessment of the amount of value added by the social organization. Comparing a student's performance at the beginning of the course to that same student's performance at the end of the course is one example of the measure of the value added by the system.

A third approach to productivity is checking the cost and benefit relationships of the given intervention at a given time. For example, an intervention of $500 in a headstart program will end up saving the tax payers some $20,000 over the lifetime of the person who is reached through the head-start program and is given a greater sense of self-worth and proceeds along a more useful course. Even closer to our concerns is the intervention of a pre-natal examination and adequate nutrition for the mother during pregnancy in order to lower the number of severe learning difficulties in school later on. (See Chart G.)

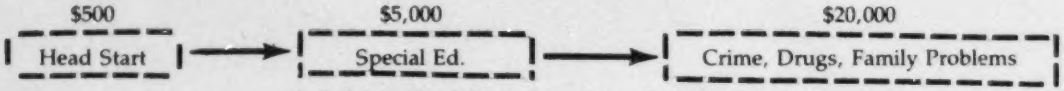
A fourth approach to productivity in the service sector is summative, meaning that we tend to judge the productivity of a system by a single measurement of those students who can reach a given and normally arbitrary standard of attainment. These problems are becoming more severe as more and more states move toward a single level of achievement for all students

Chart F: Productivity—Measurement Systems:

1. Time and Motion—Widgets produced per worker per hour.
   A. Hospital bed filled
   B. Social worker caseload
   C. Average Daily Attendance in schools.
   (not a measure of *Quality* of service).

2. "Value-Added" System.

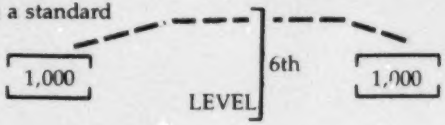
3. Intervention Cost Saving:



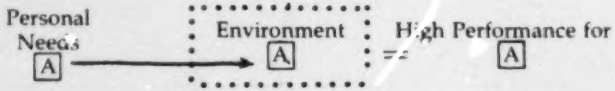
(A dollar in Head Start now saves you $20 + later).

4. Summative: Percent of students who can reach a standard

(Of 1,000 High School Seniors, all can read at 6th Grade level).



5. Compatibility (Right Person in Right Place).



(OPM-Could add $100 million by getting right person in right job).

Chart G: Intervention Strategy—Pre-Natal Nutrition

I. Normal: Pregnancy	→ Normal Birth	→ Normal Brain Wt. Age 6	→ Normal School Learning
II. Poor Nutrition During Preg.	→ Premature Births, Low Birth Weight	→ Brain Weight 250 Grams Below Normal at Age 6 (1 chance in 4)	→ Learning Problem in School, Special Ed,
III. *Intervene:* 1. Prenatal Exam. 2. Adequate Nutrition During Pregnancy	→ Normal Birth	→ Normal Brain Wt. Age 6	→ Normal School Learning

This intervention of one prenatal physical ($50) and good nutrition for mother during pregnancy ($400) would eliminate *50*% of school learning problems and Special Ed.
(AFDC aid only available *after* birth!)

through competency based programs without either taking account of differences in student background or of the responsibility of providing remedial services for those students who cannot pass the minimal compentency standard on the first try. Indeed, we may return in this area to a kind of education that glories in rejecting people on the ground that this increases the status of the system, as was true of colleges in the 1960's in the United States.

A fifth notion about productivity deals with an essential truth from the world of industry, which is by getting the right worker in the right job at the right time, you can increase your productivity enormously with no expensive training programs. For example, the Office of Personnel Management in the federal government has estimated that we can add a $100 billion to the gross national product of the United States today by simply getting the right person in the right job.

These five approaches to productivity are interesting in that they are all applicable to organizations in the public sector, like schools. In addition to these concepts of productivity, there are any number of incentives organizations offer to increase worker motivation, and thereby increase productivity. (See Chart H.)

Chart H: Employee Incentives, State and Local Government

1. Attendance Incentives
2. Career Development (Ladders *plus* training!)
3. Competition, Contests. (Individual and team).
4. Educational Incentives (Free tuition, etc.).
5. Job Enlargement:
   A. Job Rotation,
   B. Team Efforts,
   C. Increased Decision Rights,
   D. Job Redesign.
6. Output-Oriented Merit Increases. (Permanent).
7. Performance Bonuses (*Not* Permanent).
8. Performance Targets (MBO).
9. Piecework (Pay is output).
10. Productivity Bargaining. (Link rewards to performance through bargaining process).
11. Safety Incentives.
12. Shared Savings (Cost savings given to staff).
13. Suggestion Award Programs. (*After* Trial!)
14. Task Systems (Do a day's work and go home, regardless of hours worked).
15. Variations in Working Hours (4-day week, 3 days of 12 hours each, flex-time, etc.).
16. Work Standards—Exact Specs. on Tasks to be Performed—Time and Quality.

In looking through the list of public-sector incentive systems, some of them are remarkably useful in certain educational functions and not in others. For example, output-oriented merit increases may not be terribly useful for teachers whose output is hard to define, but might be very useful for cafeteria workers, maintenance people, and perhaps librarians. Productivity bargaining might be a very interesting approach to increasing faculty productivity as would shared savings and job enlargement. The interesting thing about this list, however, is the number of alternative ways of increasing incentives that do work in a variety of other public-sector areas and could be applied to educational systems as well.

Having completed this brief analysis of the concept of productivity and its application, let us look for a minute at some of the grounds for evidence regarding the productivity of our current public school system. First it should be clear that most voters are more concerned about the way taxes are spent and the total amount of their tax budget (Chart I), and that a large sector of the public would actually pay more money in taxes for improved public schools more than for any other public service (Chart J).

It also should be pointed out that we have virtually doubled the number of people who attend high school in the United

Chart I: Voter Attitudes—Proposition 13 (Washington Post, October 1979)

A. 7 of 8 are more concerned about *way taxes are spent* than total amount.

B. How Should local services be cut?
1. Government pay, pensions, cut staff 24%
2. Welfare cuts 14%
3. Basic services (Fire, Police, Schools 9%
4. Secondary services (Parks, Libraries) 3%
5. Aid to needy, aside from welfare 3%
6. Recommend no cuts in services 44%

C. Who would you vote for?
Candidate A—Cut government spending & taxes 31%
Candidate B—Keep taxes the same, increase government efficiency 64%
Don't know 5%

D. Government workers are less courteous, less able to get work done, than business workers-75% agree

(Interviews taken September 7–17, 1978)

States since 1950. In 1950, 25% of blacks completed high school and 56% of whites. While in 1978, the numbers had increased to 75% of blacks and 85% of whites. The astonishing thing is, given this enormous increase in the percentage of young people served by the school, performance measures remain virtually unchanged. We are now doing for three quarters of the black student population what in 1950 we could only accomplish for the top 25%. And with whites, we are doing with 85% what in 1950 we could accomplish with 56%.

Chart J: Government Services

	Cut	Hold	Increase
Recreation, Parks	22.6%	56.4%	15.5%
Police & Fire	4.2	62.0	30.8 (2)
Sanitation	5.9	75.1	11.6
Public Schools	13.3	49.7	31.5 (1)
Community Colleges	1[illegible]	55.9	20.0
Welfare Services	61.6	25.4	8.8
Health & Medical	15.6	48.1	30.8 (2)
Streets & Highways	18.5	59.5	16.3
Child Day Care	24.0	46.6	20.3
Libraries	14.7	63.0	15.0
None of the Services	20.0	3.8	29.0 (3)

(ECS—*Finance Facts*—Feb. '79).

Our agenda has been to diversify education services to the widest possible audience of American citizens without lowering quality. It is clear from even a cursory look at the evidence, that we have diversified educational services enormously and most indicators of student performance have shown no decline whatsoever. Even a cursory look at the test-score decline indicates that the college-bound student is as well prepared today as ever and that 50 percent more of our students in high school are going to college. International comparisons also show that the American school does more for a far larger percentage of its population than any other national system on most measures. In addition, we now have a knowledge base, which with a very small investment of dollars has been developed compared to similar knowledge bases in agriculture that took a 110 years to develop. (See Chart K.) We have learned a great deal about how to make programs like Head Start and Follow Through successful, and at the present time, those programs could be judged to be as successful educationally as the moon shot was technologically for NASA. (Chart L) In addition, we have learned the essential factors in a good reading program and are

Chart K: Amount Person Learns is Related to:

1. Social Class.
2. Race (Less powerful than class).
3. Sex (Women good in verbal, men in quantitative).
4. Urban—Rural—Suburban (Related to class).
5. Region (Southeast improving fast in K-12).
6. Birth Order (Oldest knows more).
7. Family Size (Small family = more learning).
8. Infant Nutrition (Especially protein).
9. Amount of Activity Shared with Parents.
10. Television: *Increases* Scores of Young Kids (3-8), Decreases Teen-Age Scores.
11. Age: Very Small Declines in Ability to Learn in 30's - 50's: Increased Ability to Relate Learning to One's Life. (And sex goes on past the sixties!)

now easily able to implement these dimensions of the system (Chart M). As with medicine, we are discovering that productive environments for learning are more important than the specific learning strategy itself. The most dangerous response could be made to the current prophets of gloom, would be to develop again in exclusionary strategy for the public schools, saying that we should "winnow away the chaff" in order to keep performance levels high. This would be a mistatement of the agenda that public schools are designed to implement. A more appropriate strategy for the school would be to develop a series of standards of excellence based on specific student attainments. For one example, the use of the Department of Labor structure of working with *data*, of working with people, and working with *things*, would enable us to develop 15 or 16 operational standards for excellence that would be useful in any school situation, and also would transfer into identifications of student excellence that would be useful for employers as well.

Looking ahead, in the next few years, the demography of the public schools will probably begin to show an increase by 1985–1990 as birthrates begin to increase by 1980. The best strategy, given the current ambiguous birthrates, would be to develop a "an educational holding company" strategy, making sure that facilities and personnel are used flexibly, now, in the interim, in order that that can be used effectively in the next six or eight years when the enrollments in the elementary schools begin to go back up again. Different parts of the country will respond differently to this demographic trend (states in the sun belt are increasing birthrates now for the most part), but everybody will have to deal with some fairly rapid changes in the dynamics of our population.

Chart L: Success of Early Childhood Programs and Follow Through:

"The score is now 96 to zero in favor of these programs"
Bernard Brown, OCD.

Westinghouse negative assessments were done before the kids even *got* to school:
"When school—age results are available, they are consistently encouraging."

Francis Palmer, SUNY.

Programs involving home visits by program professionals show the greatest gains. combining preschool classes with home visits produces I.Q. gains of around 10 points. Without home visits, about 6 points.

Robert D. Hess, Stanford U.

If parents participated in home-based program, only 1% of kids needed special help by the fifth grade without the program, 30% needed special education.

John Meler OCD

From AAAS annual meeting, referenced in *Science News* March 5, 1977, P. 151.

Chart M: What s Best Reading Porgram?

"What makes a difference for reading achievement is not the method of instruction but how well the program is defined and implemented."

(Venesky)

Factors in Success:
1. Parent Participation (Especially classroom).
2. Local School Involvement in Decision.
3. Principal's Leadership and Support, from Community & Superiors.
4. A "Critical Mass" of Teachers Who Share Attitudes & Values.
5. Use of Local Ideas, Not "Top Down" (Hamburger Helper).

Research of Venesky, Hill, Weber, Ets, Follow-through evaluations, USOE Study of National Diffusion Network, 1976–1978

Finally, education has become extremely important to a variety of social institutions in American life, and one of the most interesting planning problems for the next few years will be to develop useful connections with these other sources of educational activity. (See Chart N.) There are many things that we educators can learn from these potential collaborators, in that they represent expertise in areas directly related to the job of the schools. (See Chart O.) The management tasks of the future deal largely with this set of issues, particularly in relating the public schools in a more useful way to the other organizations that do education's work. Every educator should be a teacher, in my view (Chart P). The job of the principal is to teach the parents and the students; the job of the superintendent is to teach the board and the community, and the job of the chief state school officer is to teach the state. Much could be learned from studying effective pedagogy by those who represent education at the state and national levels.

The agenda I have outlined is not going to be easy, but with proper energy and dedication, each state can respond in its own way to a common set of problems and opportunities.

Chart N: Who is Learning What? Where?

	Million
	12.0
Agricultural Extension	7.4
Community Organizations	5.8
Business & Industry	5.5
Professional Associations	5.3
Part-Time College	5.0
City Recreation	3.3
Churches, Synagogues	3.3
College & U. Extension	3.1
Government Services	1.8
Public School Adult Prg.	1.7
Federal Manpower Prg.	1.5
Armed Forces	1.5
Graduate & Professional	.6
Trade Unions	.6
Community Education	.5
Free Universities	.2
Total	58.4
In Schools	12.4
Non-School Settings	46.0

College Board, *New Directions For A Learning Society*, 1978

Chart O: Potential Collaborators—Their Strengths

1. Military
   Literacy Training -
   Skill Development
   Written Modes (Manuals, Modules)
   Task Analysis
   Re-Learning, Continuing Ed.
   *Internal Promotion
   Org: Defense Education Command
   Com. Coll. of Armed Forces

2. Industry
   Job Assessment (AT&T)
   Programmed Learning (XEROX, Singer)
   Counselling
   Use of Theory (X & Y)
   Specified Outcomes
   *Internal Promotion +
   Org: American Society for Training and Development

3. Proprietary Institutions
   Marketing!
   Curriculum Clarity
   Apprentice Model
   Links with Local Business
   Job Placement
   Vocational Counselling
   Internal Promotion
   Org: NATTS
   AVA

4. Professional Associations (Engineering, Law)
   Continuing Education
   Use of Student Skills
   Flexibility
   Individualized Teaching
   *Internal Promotion

5. Museums
   Instructional Sequence
   Milti-Media
   Simulations—Games
   Learner Involvement
   Modules
   *No Promotion!
   Org: Association of Science & Technology Centers (ASTC)

6. Health
   Competence Based
   Clinical + Interne Settings ($)
   Links with Practice
   Continuing Education; Re-Learning
   *Internal Promotion
   Org: Association of Health Educators (AHE).

Chart P: Major Management Tasks

I. Coordinate the Interfaces:
   A. Local—State—Federal
   B. Elementary—Secondary—Higher Education
   C. College—Industry—Military—Etc.
II. Increase Credibility with Public, Legislators, Based on Evidence!
III. New Support Sources from New Alliances. (Money, Talent, Programs)
IV. Clarify the Outcomes, in Terms People Can Understand

Educational Technology: The Next Ten Years

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INTRODUCTION

Where are we in the history of educational technology? When scholars in the year 2009 write about education in the year 1979, which opportunities will they see us seizing . . . which missing? What are the key decisions that now could be made about the costs and benefits of technology-based instruction?

The context within which these decisions will be made is determined by our current economic and political situation; any discussion of educational technology must begin with these constraints. Realistically, in 10 years, we in formal education will have one-half of the fiscal resources that we have today: one-half of the salaries, the facilities, the books, the equipment, the maintenance, the transportation, and the administrative resources. One-half real dollar loss in 10 years assumes an average erosion of 7% per year; that is, losses from inflation, salary hikes, and recession will overbalance any gains from tax monies and other sources by about 7% per year over the next ten years.

For example, right now inflationary losses for many educational agents are running at well over 14% per year, but revenues are growing at only around 7% per year: a net 7% loss. Further, this 7% loss is *not* happening at a time in which the economy is in recession or stagflation, but in fact is taking place during a period in which we are struggling along in as much of a growth cycle as has recently occurred.

Why should we assume that these "short term" economic problems we've begun to feel in education are in fact long term and not easily reversible? One reason for anticipating long term fiscal problems has to do with the severe national economic fluctuations now in evidence. Economic forecasts indicate that, for the next 10 years, periods of stagflation (no gain in GNP; moderate inflation) will alternate with recessions (perhaps even world-wide depression, depending on how well we handle the present resources crisis) and with low growth/massive inflation (such as the late 1970's). Whichever portion of this cycle is taking place, we can be sure as educators that we will not have first

claim on social priorities in terms of funding—nor second, nor third, nor probably even tenth.

Furthermore, on top of this general economic drain, we will face spiraling resource costs—not just in energy (although energy is the clearest example), but in items such as water and paper and transportation/delivery for goods. Politics being what it is, in response to these increased costs we will see wildly changing and inconsistent policies from government. So far, the federal response to the energy situation has been less than ideal, and in general that will continue to be true for all resource crises. No political consensus is emerging on the nature of either the problem or potential solutions, and for the next 10 years we won't be able to depend on any rationality or reliability from political decision makers. So, economic and political instability indicate that our present funding problems may continue for quite a while.

A second reason for alarm is that we seem to have reached the maximum percentage of income that people are willing to spend for education. Over time, the "piece of the pie" that we've been able to claim from people's incomes has crept up and up and up—but now, clients are saying "no more." Taxpayers are clearly indicating "whether the educational system works or not, this fraction of my money is the maximum that I'm willing to spend; education will just have to survive on it."

The reason that our share of the fiscal "pie" has continuously increased has not been because we've been particularly wasteful with money, but because education is labor-intensive rather than capital-intensive (that is, we use people to produce our products instead of using machines). Auto assembly plants and steel mills are examples of capital-intensive industries; medicine and government are other labor-intensive industries. Over time, capital-intensive industries cost consumers progressively less, relative to labor intensive industries, because salaries rise faster than capital costs; the initial huge expenditure on a big machine and all the interest that is paid on the debt from buying the machine on credit and the repairs and the maintenance costs all, over time, are less expensive than people's salaries (in part, because machines continuously improve in efficiency).

Educational Technology—Costs

Certainly, this generalization is true in educational technology; at the moment the cost of computer assisted instruction is

decreasing 5 percent per year with about a 10% per year increase in productivity. As this trend is likely to continue and improve, a conservative estimate would be that in a decade these machines will be three times as productive at one-half the cost.

I know of no one who has developed a system for improving human teachers such that, in 10 years, they can be three times as effective at half the cost. *For what machines can do well,* people are not competitive economically. So our labor-intensive position in education has caused us steadily to consume more and more of the consumer dollar, just as have all the other labor-intensive industries; and we have finally reached the limit. We need the resources, we're losing teachers now due to our relatively poor salaries compared to the rest of the economy, but the money is *not* going to be there . . . just as funding is being cut back for government, just as funding will start to be cut back for medical care. To get past this fiscal problem of being labor-intensive, we must find a way legitimately to use more technology in education.

At the same time we are facing economic woes because of the factors above—and because of dwindling enrollments due to demographic changes—we are also confronted by rising demands for "higher quality" education. We're supposed to train for jobs, screen for jobs, train for further schooling, screen for further schooling, socialize, entertain and babysit, keep students off the job market, prepare for citizenship, prepare for family life, *and* (in the remaining time available) create happy, healthy human beings—on 7% per year less!

The bottom line created by this situation is that there can be no more "business as usual" in education. We must find a less expensive way of teaching. Dr. Jim Bowman, a professional colleague, tells a story about a frog. He claims that he can put a frog on top of his stove in a pot of water with no lid; turn on the burner, and (as long as the heat is set very low, so that the temperature of the water in that pot only goes up 1° an hour) he can cook the frog *without a lid on the pan*, because the temperature goes up so slowly that the frog never quite knows when to scream and leap out of the pot! The frog always says to himself, "Well, it's getting warm in here, but things don't seem that different from what they used to be." I sometimes feel the same way about educators; we don't know when to scream and say, "we've had enough; something must change!"

How can educators respond to this long-term economic crisis? We can do what we're doing now, which is to cut everything

a little bit and be unable to do anything well. After a few years of this strategy, we'll be doing a terrible job in all areas, thereby further destroying public confidence in education and having made no progress in dealing with the fundamental issue.

A second alternative is somehow to delete a major chunk of our responsibilities—to say to society, "we're not going to meet this particular objective anymore; we don't have the money." We may have to renounce some of our current obligations in education even with less expensive ways of teaching, but this will not be a popular position for us to take. Such a shift would cause enormously destructive conflicts within education, as we collectively try to decide what to give up, and would also create huge pressures from society because no one easily accepts a cutback in services. So, this second alternative doesn't work very well either. Of course, we could ignore the situation and pretend it will go away; this strategy would likely lead to a catastrophic collapse similar to the Penn Central Railroad!

In brief, somehow we must find a radically new approach to education which is fiscally less expensive—and implement this shift at a time during which we're losing money every year. This is not an attractive picture, but it is the real world situation. Changing education will not be easy, but it will be easier than changing the U.S. economy and resource problems and people's priorities on their personal spending. So, if we're not going to be "cooked frog," we'd better be scared into our wits. Given this economic and political context, what might be the technological portion of a radically different, less expensive approach?

Technology—A Necessary Component

Technology is a necessary component of any such shift, because the capital-intensive approach is historically the best proven way to reduce costs. I don't know of any ways to prepare human teachers successfully to instruct 50 to 60 students with the same relatively low salary, half the educational materials, a collapsing physical plant and half the number of administrators and support personnel—but that's our future situation if we try to educate using only human resources.

What could educational technology do in a decade to save money? Unless we collectively work to influence manufacturers, nothing—no one will magically appear to solve this problem for us. However, if we do take steps now to create a market for quality instructional technology, this could reduce some educational costs dramatically. The examples I will use to illustrate

this claim are completely realistic because the five techniques I will describe have already been developed and are in use today. "Magical" instructional technologies (such as memory drugs) are not necessary to implement successful technology-based education.

One instructional technology we could implement large-scale would be a non-computer linked television programming system: a massive "Sesame Street plus" approach. Entertainment and a carefully sequenced motivational/developmental psychology-based curriculum would be packaged together. Programs would be designed for each age level—including adults—and delivered on multiple cable television channels (which will soon be part of almost all households).

One result of such an approach would be universal, home-based, non-interactive standardized learning experiences. "Citizen's literacy" instruction for all ages would be one likely form of programming (for example, a two-hour comedy movie on constructive coping with gasoline shortages). Such programs would be produced on a sophisticated entertainment level with top quality acting talent and would utilize the motivational market-study approach currently so successful in beer commercials. This televised instruction could be supplemented by small group, low-cost, para-professional-led discussions which would allow viewers an opportunity to react to, internalize, and individualize what they'd seen.

This type of programming would save a great deal of repetitive, teacher-directed socialization for children and for adults. The massive amount of time educational institutions currently devote to "real world coping skills" could be largely eliminated. Savings would also include travel and facilities costs; further, indirectly society would benefit from previously undereducated adults becoming more capable of coping with laws, bureaucracies, banks, and voting.

Costs of such instruction would be primarily para-professional training and production expenses; the latter will be very high and unlikely to drop even if large numbers of such programs are produced. As a result, this type of technological instruction will never be cost-effective for very specialized learning experiences; the client audience must always be reasonably large.

A second instructional technology utilizes portable computer/calculators/micro-processors to do semi-sophisticated computer-assisted instruction. The instructional modes which could be programmed on the inexpensive, powerful calculators now

available include tutorial approaches (computer presents simple material, asks questions to determine proper assimilation, and corrects misunderstandings), inquiry approach (student asks for a specific fact; computer responds with appropriate data), dialogue (student asks a general question; computer responds with complex answer), and explanation/interpretation (computer presents complex learning material and responds to general questions). Tutorial might be used, for example, to teach textbook portions of American History; inquiry, to obtain data for an assigned paper on national demographics; dialogue, to explain this year's income tax changes; and explanation/interpretation, to outline implications of federal law 94-142 for the traditional classroom.

Should this type of instruction be implemented, many different computer programs and data sets could be produced, distributed, and plugged into calculators as needed. Large-scale costs would be quite low, both for equipment and programming. Implications for teaching would be that standard "lecture-and-work-sheet" education could be decentralized and made uniform (at enormous savings of personnel time), and many library and textbook functions could be programmed into calculators instead (yielding further cost reductions).

Fiscal costs will be small, but a major human cost will be that information transfer will become very depersonalized. Even a well-programmed calculator cannot behave as could a human being. Standardization and uniformity also carry risks; one mistake in a program means that everyone nationally learns the same error, one bias in content results in all students' attitudes being malformed in the same direction. Quality control must be very rigorous if such an instructional system is to be used.

A third learning device which could be implemented is based on using a large central computer to deliver to home cable television sets multiple person, interactive, artificial-intelligence-based learning simulations. Many of these simulations will resemble games, but will be much more sophisticated than the relatively simple computer games now sold in stores. For example, learners will not be limited to a small range of responses; *any* response given to the computer will trigger an appropriate message in return. This feature allows much greater emphasis to be placed on creativity and on higher order cognitive skills. Also, the opportunity to interact with other human "players," with the computer mediating, makes this approach much less depersonalized than traditional computer-assisted instruction. Input to the computer (which can handle many households simultaneously) would be typed on a home keyboard; in ten

years, spoken input may be possible as well. Natural language (rather than computer language) is used.

An example of such a learning simulation might be a "Star-Trek" game for grade level three: seven learners; approximate total time, 35 hours (spread out over several weeks). Each learner would act as a particular crew member, with given roles to perform and several obstacles to master in the game (cooperative strategies stressed). Emphasis might be placed on development of math skills (navigation), group problem-solving (interpersonal strains among the crew), computer programming skills, and "communication-at-a-distance" skills (interaction with others through a keyboard rather than face-to-face). Research on non-educational versions of these "games" (such as a "Dungeons and Dragons" simulation at MIT) shows that these are intensely motivating and involving, without depending on novelty factors to hold participant interest.

Potential Applications

What are the implications of such instruction? Some (but not all) of higher order skill development in education could be decentralized; personnel, travel, and facilities costs would be reduced. People's abilities to program and use machines would be enhanced; simultaneously, society might become oriented much more toward abstract skills and abilities than interpersonal skills and interaction. Developmental costs will be extremely high; artificial intelligence software can require up to 10,000 hours of programmer time for each hour of instructional time produced. As with instructional television, these high production costs require a large client audience for cost-effectiveness. However, once the learning simulation is developed, the use costs are negligible and the game can be replayed indefinitely by a whole series of learners. Over a long period of time, using simulations such as this, human teaching can be largely eliminated in most training-oriented subjects (that is, subjects in which there is a limited range of right answers to questions).

A fourth instructional technology stems from coupling videodisc images and sound track to an interactive microcomputer. In this manner, filmed material can be presented and, based on individualized learner response, be tailored to maximize efficiency of instruction. An example might be a "Columbo" episode in which the learner *is* the detective; based on the conclusions drawn after each scene, appropriate new plot material is presented. A more limited response range and slightly fewer variations would be possible than with the "pure" computer

simulations described earlier, because of the enormous cost of the filming to handle unusual responses that learners might make. However, the learning experience would be more personal and concrete, less abstract and symbolic.

Current video disc and micro computer technology is sufficient to create such programming; production expenses are enormous, but use costs would be very small. Over a very long period of time, enough programs of this type could be developed to substitute for many group teaching situations, but could not replace human teaching in the development of very high levels of cognitive or affective skills or in specialized areas in which small client populations would reduce cost-effectiveness.

A fifth set of educational technologies is more an aid to instruction than a substitute for human teaching. Electronic mail, computer conferencing, computer search, and information processing options all provide ways of making education more efficient. Electronic mail uses computers to send messages swiftly and cheaply over long distances. This can provide a low-cost mechanism for coordinating state-wide or a national educational network. Computer conferencing permits a group of people to interact both across considerable distances and also over a wide time frame (so that participants need not simultaneously be at the keyboard). Again, this can save travel costs and makes possible joint endeavors by persons geographically distant. Computer search provides a means for very quick data availability and retrieval, thus reducing both library and personnel costs for research. Information processing is a simple and rapid way of facilitating the editing and production of documents. Combined, all these technologies can ease the professional "busy work" functions educators must perform, thereby increasing efficiency and effectiveness and reducing boredom. The costs of adopting such approaches are that new skills for using machines must be developed, and that increasing amounts of professional time will be spent without direct personal contact with other human beings.

These five educational technologies are illustrative of what we might do to change the teaching/learning model we now use; all the necessary hardware currently exists. The "software" (television programs, films, computer programs) does not. (Note that this is a very limited and conservative picture of the future of educational technology. Memory drugs, altered states of consciousness and biopsychological manipulation strategies have not been discussed). Fifteen years from now, what would be the overall costs and benefits from moving education toward these illustrative technologies?

Implications

First, we'd save money, even with the large initial outlays in capital required to purchase equipment and develop software. The first few years of such an effort might be very difficult, for money must be spent to implement these technologies before savings can be realized. Innovative funding strategies (such as long-term, low-interest loans from information technology corporations) may well be required; the term "school bonds" may take on a whole new meaning—not new buildings, but a new computer or broadcast facility.

Massive changes would need to occur in teacher training, both inservice and preservice. Educators must be prepared to program these new technologies, to assess student responses to these types of instruction, and to refuse to substitute machine interaction where human instruction is more appropriate. The teacher role will become less boring, but demand more creativity and initiative. Personnel shifts may cause considerable tensions, short-term; long-term, as many educational jobs may exist as do at present, but some will not be teaching roles and quite a few may be outside the schooling system, in industries, communities, and media. The final impact of technology on educational employment will not be so much to reduce jobs as to alter roles and to shift employment to educational agents other than schools.

Inequalities in education would be reduced, as instruction would become standardized (especially for television and video disc curricula) and probably of uniformly higher quality. However, local control over educational content will be greatly reduced, and the need for quality control to eliminate error and propaganda will be much larger. Increased diversity in ways of teaching will be available to match the diversity of learning styles that we see in human beings.

Adult citizenship behavior would be improved over today, because educators will be able to interact with people in their homes to update their skills. However, human contact and the affective part of education may be reduced by using machines to teach, rather than people, unless care is taken to stress these areas in the non-technological instructional settings.

As is evident from this summary of costs and benefits, other than in saving money expansion of educational technology will be a mixed blessing at best, and could create some challenging new issues. Such an outcome is typical of using technology to solve problems; unless carefully monitored, the side effects from a "technological fix" can be worse than the original situation.

Nonetheless, our society continues to expand its technological capabilities, and this in turn compels educators to move in the same direction—although with considerable resistance.

Trends in the last hundred years clearly illustrate this generalization. In the last century, in the developed countries, our travel speed has increased by a factor of a hundred, our control over infectious disease has increased by a factor of a hundred, our energy resources—despite the energy crisis—have increased by a factor of a thousand, our data handling capabilities by a factor of 10 thousand, our weaponry power by a factor of a million and our communications speed by a factor of 10 million. However, in sectors dominated by social invention and labor-intensive approaches (such as education or politics), we see no comparable hundred-fold increases in the last hundred years—not even ten-fold or two-fold increases. As a result, we in education are receiving heavy criticism, economic cutbacks, and demands for increased productivity.

Long-Term Effects

Society has paid dearly in hidden costs for the technological gains cited above; many of our problems today stem from side-effects of rapid, uncontrolled implementation of technological solutions in the last hundred years. Now, to maintain this high technology society, education must move to technological approaches both for economic reasons and to provide the intensive, elaborate training and socialization needed to cope in such a setting. Hopefully, we can find a way of maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs discussed earlier: by applying technology only where appropriate, with forethought, and with suitable controls.

Given that we are intelligent enough to use instructional technology wisely, what will be its long-term net effects? One eventual outcome may be that training ("limited range of right answer" learning) will be almost completely done by machines, while educating ("multiple right answer" learning) will be facilitated by people. This implies that subjects such as reading and basic math may be machine taught, while areas such as creative writing will continue to be conveyed by human instructors.

A second long-term effect may be that new definitions of intelligence will emerge. Historically, our definition of intelligence has changed based on our technological capabilities. For example, 50 years ago, having a near photographic memory was an important part of being intelligent because the kind of rapid

data retrieval that we have now was not available; today, memory is less important to intelligence. Similarly, as machines are developed with instructional skills, different human capabilities will be seen as indicating intelligence.

To work with others using machines as intermediates, new types of communications skills will be necessary. We may see innovative communications styles that will allow us to be person oriented and affective even when sending messages via the computer or television. After all, this is what a good media personality is able to accomplish; we may study Johnny Carson to learn the ways he communicates sociability, social presence, and affect over the air waves, how he compensates for the loss of direct contact that takes place when machines mediate communication.

A third outcome may be that everyone in society will have a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of technology because all of us will be interacting with technology day-to-day, learning from and programming machines. We may become more intelligent and sophisticated in using technology when we continuously see what it is and is not capable of accomplishing.

In education, long-term effects will include centralization of curriculum development and finances, but decentralization of the learning environment into homes and communities. New types of government regulations will be needed to allow educators to interface with public utilities such as the Bell System; federal and state regulation problems will become very complex. Different types of people will be attracted to teaching as a profession; some people who now reject education as a career will find technology-interfaced teaching attractive because the role itself will be more challenging and interesting. New evaluation strategies will emerge in response to larger grading pools and altered definitions of learner effectiveness. One way of summarizing these changes is to say that a new model of teaching and learning will be needed, with corresponding changes in roles and relationships for teachers, parents, industries, media, administrators and government.

To make such a transition to instructional technology as effective as possible, three things must be done. One immediate agenda is to begin planning now, so that technological reliance can be minimized to areas in which machines are efficient and effective. The focus of instructional technology should be on training rather than educating; on small-scale, low-investment applications wherever possible; and on high reliability to avoid maintenance problems.

A second short-range objective should be to organize a national network of educational decision-makers to lobby government for appropriate regulations and information-technology manufacturers for useful and inexpensive products. Without organized pressure on industry, educators will be offered junk for sale, and expensive junk at that! In computers, purchase of the machines themselves represents 10 percent of user costs; programs for running the computers will be 90 percent of educational expenditures, and some manufacturers will attempt to get away with whatever they can to boost profits. This implies that educational agencies must themselves learn to differentiate between good and bad high technology products, an expertise which we need to start developing now.

The third initiative we should assume is devising anticipatory social inventions to regulate use of instructional technologies; to reduce the negative effects that they may produce, and to increase the receptivity of teachers and administrators to machines as a means of reducing costs. To accomplish this, we need to reconceptualize the training that we give teachers and administrators, to develop alliances with media associations and computer associations, and to explore creative ways to raise capital so that we can invest in these technologies without being saddled with too heavy a debt ceiling.

SUMMARY

Taken as a group, these three immediate agendas illustrate an approach pioneered by British economist E. F. Schumacher known as "appropriate technology." Schumacher's strategies for managing technology are designed to minimize the negative side effects so often associated with increasing reliance on machines. Education's chances of a bright future are much higher if we anticipate the challenges these new technologies may pose than if we wait and find ourselves in a reactive, crisis-oriented posture.

We are facing a period in education similar to the introduction to the printing press five hundred years ago. Before that time, those people who could read (a small percentage of the population) used a few hand-copied manuscripts as their source of information; for the rest of the populace, reciters and actors conveyed ideas orally. In converting to the printing press, people faced similar problems to those discussed here: a loss of the human factor, new skills required and valued abilities suddenly obsolete, career shifts, massive needs for capital investment, etc. But, although decades passed before books were used to

their full educative potential, the shift to the printed word for information dissemination ultimately did result in progress, increased learning, and exciting new frontiers for education.

Recent technological advances pose a similar opportunity for us. The traditional teacher is in an analogous position to that of clerks after the end of WW II, when the computer was developed. Suddenly, many fewer clerks were needed—but new, more interesting jobs were available for skilled personnel. We can be similar to monks copying manuscripts by hand while the printing press makes us obsolete, or we can be on the forefront of simultaneously developing instructional technology and retaining traditional educational approaches where appropriate.

One closing thought: it is easy to be psychologically hypnotized by the stability of the present. We are constantly tempted to be conservative and say, "I'll tinker around with innovations, but be sure to hedge my bets and put 95 percent of my energies into a traditional approach to my work. In this manner, no matter what happens, I can look as if I was prepared." This is a very understandable trait, but—as the energy crisis illustrates—it is easy to be trapped by it.

My university is built on a flood plain in Houston, near the Johnson Space Center. The major classroom building is 20 feet above sea level, and the entire exterior of this building (which contains 11½ acres of floor space) is glass. When I arrived, I asked the Provost what would happen to the glass if a hurricane were to come, what wind speed the windows were rated for. She replied, "Don't worry, these windows are the best of their kind and are rated for 90 mph winds." When the next hurricane does come—this summer, in two years, or in 20 years, every pane of glass on the entire exterior of the building will blow off in two hundred mile per hour winds; and the roof of the Astrodome, which is rated for 135 mph winds, will sail across Houston like a gigantic frisbee and impale itself into the oil company skyscrapers! However, we choose to live as if this will never happen, because we are seduced by the relative stability of the present.

The best example of all is San Francisco; the largest single natural disaster in American history will come when the San Andreas fault finally shifts. There are elementary schools built on the fault line, dams and nuclear power plants within a few miles of the fault; the loss of life will be enormous. We know this disaster will come, but we are quite capable of indefinitely hiding our heads in the sand rather than dealing with the situation.

Hopefully, we in education can rise above being hypnotized by present issues to look ahead. There is a Chinese saying, "Too late to dig well when house on fire." I'd like to close with a blessing and a curse: my blessing is on us and what we can do toward a bright future. The curse is also from China; when one disliked a person, you told him, "May you live in exciting times." I'm afraid, for better or worse, we all do!

The Brown Decision, Pluralism, and the Schools in the 80's

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INTRODUCTION

The myths we live by are often more significant than the facts of our lives. In the United States we have changed our myths in your lifetime and mine. When most of us went to elementary school, one prevailing myth about America and Americans was faith in the melting pot, a term for which we are indebted to Israel Zangwill, who wrote at the turn of the century, "America is God's Crucible, the Great Melting Pot where all races of Europe are melting and reforming." We saw ourselves and our fellow Americans as persons with strong common denominators based on a common history, on a common and somewhat simplistic patriotism, and on the hope of success in a land that had provided freedom and opportunity to many. We believed that those who joined us from abroad—ordinarily Europe—might have trouble getting started in America, but we were sure from the experience of past generations that the benign action of the melting pot would soon turn them into "real" Americans, who shared the traditions and beliefs of the rest of us and who would start climbing the ladder of success as soon as they were Americanized.

Most of us conveniently forgot that persons with black skins, Hispanics whose ancestors may have arrived here before our own, and Native Americans were exceptions to this myth, and those who remembered this unpleasant fact tended to regard it as an exception rather than a denial of the myth. Persons who insisted on preserving their native language and culture were seen as almost un-American. If they chose this foolish course, we were not to blame for the troubles they encountered in America. Persons whose ancestors had been slaves were subjected to official and unofficial discrimination. Native Americans had suffered a special kind of inequality to which we had grown accustomed. Many states in our Union maintained ingenious ways to deprive Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans of political, economic, and personal rights even though the Constitution under which we all lived forbade discrimination on the basis of race, religion, or national origin.

Pluralism

Our parents' vision of the myth in those years of our own elementary education saw the schools as the main device for heating the melting pot, particularly the schools of the cities. Under their influence, the illiterate would become literate, the foreign would become American and shed their strangeness, and the bottom rungs of the ladder of success would become available to most everyone. It was a comforting view that made us feel good about our land and ourselves. It's too bad it was only half true, with enough misconceptions and errors to warrant labelling it a myth.

Today we have a new and different myth that grows in part from our national experience in the 1960's and 1970's. It is called pluralism, and its main feature is denial of the melting pot. Now American society is seen by many as a loose association of competing groups, each of which makes a first claim on the loyalty and interest of its members—a claim so strong that it often supersedes or ignores the common denominators that hold us together as one people. We have become a nation of minorities, each emphasizing its race or its language or its culture or its national origin or some combination of these. Of course, pluralism as an idea for characterizing American society has been around for a long time, but only recently has it gained ascendency over the melting pot.

The schools are caught up in this new myth, just as they were in the old one. Under a decision of the Supreme Court, the language of a minority must be recognized in the schools, and we have invented bilingual education, a concept to which we give numerous definitions depending on the characteristics of the group and sometimes of the individual. Various groups demand that the curriculum of the schools recognize their past history and their cultural interests, and the schools regard it as their duty to respond. Group loyalties are so powerful that they impel people to deny the dream of an integrated school and an integrated society and to stick together in relative isolation, even though this may ultimately defeat the aspiration most people have for joining the mainstream of economic success and the guarantee of individual rights.

The *Brown* decision and the developments that flowed from it powerfully influenced the transition from one myth to the other, less as a result of the specific arguments of the decision itself than of the forces it awakened in the land, forces that gathered strength rapidly in the 1950's, deeply affected our national life in the 1960's, and solidified themselves in recent years.

While the legal impact of the *Brown* decision was to overturn the doctrine of "separate but equal," stemming from the earlier Court ruling in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* 1896, its real impact was in the assertion that racial characteristics are unacceptable in the United States as a basis for decisions of government about people. It proclaimed the end of second-class citizenship and called for equality in the broadest sense. More than that, it said to millions of Americans, who had been officially discriminated against, not only that they were equal to their oppressors but also that they had some right to redress of wrongs from those same parties. It qualified that right of redress by saying it could not be expected immediately but "with all deliberate speed," whatever that meant. In effect Brown said, you can't have two melting pots, one for Europeans and one for others who will be kept separate.

The Promise of Equality

Armed with this elusive promise of equality, Blacks, Hispanics, and some others set out to capture the rights they had been promised but denied, and they found it no easy task. No one was going to give them their newly defined legal rights on a platter. They would have to fight for them in buses, at lunch counters, at voter registration offices, with school boards, in state legislatures, in the United States Congress, and in the courts. The fight was to be long and frustrating and bitter, and it is not over yet. Nor will it be when you and I pass on our responsibilities for education to another generation.

An important by-product of that long and bitter fight was the increased solidarity of the minority groups engaged in it. The frustrations encountered by Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans as they attempted to claim rights that were legally theirs but denied them in practice turned them back to their own fellowship for psychological sustenance. Only a few of them succeeded in joining the mainstream, in making the transition to the middle class, or in attaining a true rapport that could be described as integration with the dominant white group. In effect the melting pot remained a concept for European immigrants rather than for our country's oldest minorities.

These experiences fertilized the seeds of pluralism, a doctrine that proclaims quite correctly that a person's race and heritage and language are qualities to be proud of and to draw strength from rather than to be denied and rejected. The "Black is Beautiful" emphasis through which we passed in the 1960's, was an

exaggerated but necessary phase of this phenomenon. Other examples were black, Hispanic, and other ethnic studies introduced almost overnight in schools and colleges. They frequently were ill-conceived and ill-taught, and they sometimes resulted in denial of a solid education for young people; but they met a deep need for self-definition and self-respect in minority groups. Still another example was the demand of Blacks for black dormitories and social centers on college campuses that surprised many white college presidents, who thought that integration was what minority persons should want.

As Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans began to make some gains through their newly effective solidarity, other ethnic groups in American society had two reactions. First, they resented the competition of the older minorities, particularly at the transition point from government-supported poverty to economic independence. They saw more Blacks making that transition and believed, rightly in some instances, that Blacks' economic ascent challenged their own. Secondly, they saw that this kind of change was possible for Blacks and for some Hispanics because they were organized into groups that could bring leverage on government and get results.

These two lessons combined to denigrate the melting pot as the model for success in America, and various groups joined the pluralist bandwagon as the route to their own salvation. In effect they said, "The hell with waiting around to be assimilated into the mainstream. We must organize and get ours quicker, just as the Blacks are doing."

A New "Blend" Needed

At this point I am prepared to concede that the foregoing is a simplistic interpretation of a complex series of events. I am prepared also to argue that there is enough validity to it to use it as a taking off point for talking about what our schools need to consider as they plan their strategies for serving American society in the years ahead. The 1980's will be a time when our schools must revive some of the virtues of the melting pot, reduce some of the excesses of pluralism, and blend these two together in a new vision of American society that seeks simultaneously to identify important common denominators for all our people, while recognizing the richness and value of the many traditions and cultures from which Americans claim major elements of their strength and their satisfaction.

You may want to argue that these two concepts are fundamentally opposed and that we must go one way or the other—

that we cannot be many peoples and one people at the same time. In response to this, I say only that we can if we will try hard enough. The same type of argument is frequently made about education in America, when it is asserted that we cannot achieve an educational system that has both excellence and equality as its major characteristics. I submit, however, that a fair look at the evidence suggests we have gone a long way in our schools and colleges toward achieving these twin purposes simultaneously. Right now we are going through a phase of attempting to repair the quality of excellence in our schools, just as we went through a phase in the 1960's of emphasis on openness and equal opportunity. Today we too easily forget that each succeeding generation of Americans has been more literate than its predecessor; and in our enthusiasm for repairing evident shortcomings in the schools, we forget also their great achievements in providing this society with an educated citizenry.

So it is possible in America to fit together into a working whole strong trends that have some elements of opposition. It takes persistence, good judgment and firm resistance to the temptations of extremism. It places special strains on leaders, who must avoid over-reacting to the cyclical swings of reform movements and losing a sense of balance.

A society that succeeds in balancing the claims of pluralism and the melting pot will be like a smoothly working jazz combo.* The instrumentalists merge their playing to create their music, which is then powerfully augmented and enriched as one after another—the pianist, the drummer, the trumpeter, the saxophonist, and the bass player—performs in his personal and unique style with a solid background from the rest of the group. One may shine more than another; if he can, so be it. But the set always ends with a flourish in which all are interwoven and with a result that is greater than the sum of the solo parts.

The fact of racial differences in America has placed a greater strain on the myth of the melting pot than any other of the factors that occasionally divide our people. And the same fact has created a dilemma for the concept of pluralism, which to be workable at all must assume that groups seeking to preserve their identity will have equal opportunity, not only for group status but also for the individual standing of group members in the larger society. During most of our history, we have denied

* I am indebted to Professor David Riesman of Harvard University for the idea of this analogy.

equality in status both to racially identifiable groups and to individuals from those groups. It was the *Brown* decision that pulled us up short by asserting that race was unacceptable as a basis for decisions by government about Americans.

The El-Hi Role

This past history casts its shadow over all of us every day of our lives. We cannot escape it. It tests our moral fiber, our idealism, and our commitment to what we say we believe. When we hold up a mirror and look at ourselves honestly, that shadow dominates our reflection.

Nowhere is the strain and stress of living in this shadow more evident than in those institutions which serve the coming generation and to which we commit a large proportion of our hopes for the future, the elementary and secondary schools. We depend fundamentally on the schools, both to pass on to our children the civilization we have inherited, as well as to create in them the wit and the will continually to reshape that civilization closer to our ideas than we have. In spite of the studies of some social scientists, who contend that education is unable to overcome the handicaps of racial discrimination and economic disadvantage, and in spite of the claims of a few theorists who argue that traits of mind and motivation are innate and immutable, Americans generally remain committed to the view that we can create schools with the capacity to move people out of the shadows of the past and into a new era of light. While that commitment has wavered some in recent years, it generally remains strong. We will allow it to erode at our peril.

For the 25 years since the *Brown* decision, a significant arena for testing our commitment to fairness in American society has been the embattled issue of school desegregation. There are other important elements in the long American march to a just society, including issues about employment opportunities and political rights on which some progress has been made, but the central concern for educators and an important continuing challenge for all Americans is ridding our schools of the taint of racism. We have made some progress on this front also, but we have a long way to go before we are anywhere near the dream that was so powerfully enunciated from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington by Martin Luther King in 1963.

This is not the place for a history of the ebb and flow of the contest over school desegregation. Most of you have lived through it and have vivid memories, as I do, of victories and

defeats, of pursuing what turned out to be simplistic and ineffective solutions, and of fashioning remedies for segregation and racial isolation that placed the burden of redressing these wrongs more heavily on their victims than on the perpetrators. There was rarely a better contest for Monday morning quarterbacking than the contest over desegregation of the schools.

We have learned some hard lessons from our experience with school desegregation in the years since the *Brown* decision, although we are not always willing to admit it. The two most important lessons of the first 25 years since *Brown* should shape our thinking as we plan our course for the 1980's:

- First, the forces in American society that bring about segregated living and produce racial isolation in neighborhoods and schools are not within the control of the schools nor of the authorities that operate them, although those authorities sometimes align themselves with these forces rather than opposing them. These forces stem on the one hand from private decision-making that is too often motivated by well disguised racial prejudice and on the other from government programs in housing, transportation, and other areas of national policy with objectives unrelated to education but with powerful if unintended effects on where people live and where their children go to school.
- Second, it is simplistic to believe, as many of us did well into the 1960's, that merely bringing together in school children from minority and white majority backgrounds will, in and of itself, provide minority children with the special opportunities they need to move out of the shadow of more than a hundred years of legal and illegal discrimination.

The first of these lessons about the forces that encourage racial isolation in the living patterns of our cities and suburbs should make us rethink our long-term strategy for school desegregation in the years ahead. It is just plain unrealistic to expect that solely by litigation and its resulting court orders for a variety of traditional remedies such as magnet schools, busing, redistricting, pairing of schools and the like, we can devise a permanent solution to the school desegregation problems of the massive concentrations of minority group people collected in our largest cities. Nor it is reasonable to assume that enforcement action by HEW under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act can do much more than nibble at the edges of such problems.

I do not want to be misunderstood on this point, for I am not advocating the end of busing, the curtailment of litigation, or any decline in the energy with which the federal government

pursues its duty to enforce the law. All these activities must continue. They are the best medicines we can prescribe now for the disease of segregated urban schools. They bring some change and some progress, and in some smaller cities they offer real hope of beneficial change. But in the most difficult situations, they are palliatives rather than cures. It is possible that litigation seeking metropolitan solutions that include suburban and central city school systems in common desegregation plans may be of major help, but so far the federal courts have been wary of this approach.

Bringing Together the Multiple Concerns

There are, however, important possibilities for a more comprehensive, long-term strategy directed at avoiding the condition of two separate societies—one white and one black and Hispanic—or perhaps even three separate societies, with the rapidly growing proportion of Hispanics settled in enclaves of linguistic and cultural separatism—a development which holds the danger for the United States of its own Spanish-speaking version of the Canadian experience in Quebec. Such a strategy might be forged by bringing together in the courts, in enforcement actions through the administrative departments of government, and in various incentive schemes, the multiple concerns about racial discrimination in schools, in housing, and in other areas.

The Justice Department has reorganized its efforts to attack discrimination in education and in housing by bringing these two usually separate fields under the same office in its Civil Rights Division. The possibility of school desegregation suits with fair housing litigation worked into them to bring the federal courts into these two clearly related issues at the same time is already being explored in the Justice Department.

On the administrative enforcement front under the requirements of the 1964 and 1968 Civil Rights Acts, it should be possible to devise joint administrative enforcement actions by HUD and the Department of Education although the idea of two separate departments cooperating in such a politically volatile task probably isn't practical without an initiative from the President to tell them to do so. Desegregation of schools or housing or anything else is not a popular subject with any President, and the last three of them have managed to avoid it most of the time. It is unpopular because it is a loser in the political sense; you stand to lose more votes than you gain by insisting that

racial minorities enjoy their constitutional rights to non-discriminatory housing and schooling. But what if a President had enough vision to see that a long-term strategy linking housing policies and school desegregation might enable him to suggest the possibility of reducing court orders requiring bussing and the possibility of reducing court orders requiring busing and of eventually reducing the need for busing to give children their constitutional rights? It seems to me that such a promise might be turned into a political asset.
integration but that reward it sufficiently to make city planners, school authorities, and even individual families think twice about foregoing the economic benefits offered for desegregated schools and housing. I shall not attempt to stipulate the details of such programs, but I do believe that they constitute a relatively unexplored area. We have something of the kind now in what is called Emergency School Assistance for school districts that are actively desegregating and have need for special funds. Preferences for housing loans both in terms of who gets them and the rate of interest might encourage some movement away from racial concentrations and toward integrated living patterns. Certainly we need to recognize that the record of federally supported housing authorities in creating the ghettos of America is not a proud one, and we should find ways to turn their influence in more constructive directions. I wonder if anyone has thought of requiring the new and popular tax free bonds issued by cities and towns for private housing mortgages to satisfy a test of racial integration before receiving approval of tax exemption.

To sum up these observations on new initiatives in school desegregation, let me quote from a letter I received from Paul Dimond, one of the attorneys involved in the recent *Columbus* and *Dayton* cases before the Supreme Court, and a person with a significant record in seeking both constitutional rights and better education for the children in our schools.

> "In all our thinking about new initiatives, however, I don't think we should ever let HUD, HEW, Commerce, and Justice off the hook easily. They do have large program and enforcement responsibilities that could be coordinated and redirected in a fashion that is consistent with ending the process of segregation. I don't accept as inevitable, for example, that HUD programs must aid middle income-persons to be consistent with integration objectives; that HUD, Commerce, and HEW low-income and urban revitalization efforts must perpetuate segregation rather than promote integration; that the Justice

Department must forever rely solely on litigation, rather than including administrative oversight and coordination, because of the in-bred biases of some lawyers; that Title VI, Title VII, or Title VIII* must inevitably slip into disrepute from lack of creative implementation and failure to date to establish any substantive standards. Better federal policy and action in these areas is politically feasible and administratively workable; and it certainly is not inconsistent with grass-roots and incentive approaches. We can and should ask more of the Carter Administration and its successor administrations, even while building a better political climate and developing and targeting some creative and effective incentive efforts and enforcement strategies for integration."*

Turning to the second of our hard-won lessons on school desegregation, what can be said about the paucity of evidence that school desegregation has so far produced large-scale improvements in measurable learning among black children? We are in about the same place in studying the effects of school desegregation that we were in studying the significance of class size 20 years ago. We have slowed up the process of making newly designed studies from basic data and started to do studies of past studies.

Effects of Desegregation

The most recent of these by Robert Crain and Rita Mahard of the Rand Corporation shows that 73 studies of school desegregation found positive effects on black achievement in 40, negative effects in 12, and no effects at all in 21 for a generally positive picture of the learning effects of school desegregation, as contrasted with more negative views expressed earlier by the renowned James Coleman, the patriarch among analytical scholars of racial differences in schools.

I don't expect much more insight from studies like these than is already available to us. By and large, the finer points of interpretation that emerge from the regression equations used by sophisticated analysts are of more use to scholars for the conduct of arguments with each other than they are to teachers, principals, and school superintendents for improving education. Nor are these studies much use to those whose obligation

* Title VI and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 on fair housing

* letter to Harold Howe II from Paul R. Dimond, June 27, 1979

it is to enforce the law and to bring students their constitutional right to desegregated schools. As I shall point out in more detail in a moment, the constitutional obligation to desegregate the schools has little or nothing to do with the learning outcomes of meeting such requirements.

About all that can be said now about the effects of desegregation is that sometimes it helps learning and sometimes it doesn't; probably more often than not, it does. The mechanisms by which desegregation is introduced into schools and classrooms determine the consequences for learning. But the naive hope some of us had that desegregating the schools would rapidly remove the learning differences between blacks and whites turns out to be exactly what it was, naive. As the Carnegie Council on Children underlined for us in its 1977 report, *All Our Children,** the handicaps inherent in the economic conditions, health, and other disadvantages suffered by poor and minority families are fundamental causes of inequality that can limit the child's capacity to take advantage of the traditional school program.

But this does not mean that educators should either give up in despair while awaiting the advent of economic equity or reduce their efforts to improve and desegregate the schools. About the only help that educators can get from social scientists is the realization that the job they are trying to do is more complex than they expected. In a sense, this is real help because it allows them to deal with reality rather than with unrealistic hopes. But in terms of what to do that is different from what they are doing and that might make a difference, educators are pretty much on their own. They will have to draw on hunches, on very limited evidence from research, and more than anything else on their own notions of what is right. Using such sources as my guide, I want to bring these observations to a close with some suggestions for those responsible for the schools in the 1980's.

First of all, don't be deterred from desegregating the schools because doing so seems to have limited effects on test scores in reading and mathematics. That is not what school desegregation is all about, at least in the first instance. The constitutional requirement to desegregate where there is evidence of discrimination by public authority was established by the Supreme Court in 1954 and reiterated in the *Dayton* and *Columbus* cases. It has nothing to do with tests, achievement levels, or other sco-

* *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure* by Kenneth Keniston, 1977, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

rekeeping by educators. It is instead a prohibition of racial discrimination by official bodies. As James Coleman himself once said, "Let's suppose the 1966 research of mine (*Equality of Educational Opportunity*) had come out with the opposite conclusion—namely, that black children did worse in predominantly middle-class schools. Should the courts have used that as an argument? I cannot envision a decision saying that segregation is constitutionally required because black children do better in segregated classrooms."*

I would add to James Coleman's assertion opposing official discrimination that constitutional rights cannot and should not be conditioned by student performance. We assure freedom for the press in our constitution and suffer numerous abuses from the fourth estate in order to preserve it. Freedom of religion allows many practices that a majority of Americans would at best consider foolish. Why do we insist that the constitutional right to freedom from racial discrimination by public authority makes no sense unless it produces better reading scores?**

But if we desegregate the schools to give children their constitutional rights regardless of the learning outcomes, we still have the overwhelmingly important job of doing something about the latter. It is probably true that the deprivations of poverty and racial discrimination over long years cannot be entirely overcome by the schools alone. Nevertheless, there are enough instances of success by skilled teachers working in alliance with parents who care and with the encouragement of dedicated principals to make me think that the schools can do considerably more than they are now doing. And the gains that the schools can make are not dependent upon completing the process of desegregation, although that can help to some degree. In addition to meeting our legal obligations we must learn to use the talent we have in America's schools to raise the skills and the morale of those teachers and principals who now find their task unmanageable and their jobs frustrating.

Fashioning New Programs

I suspect that one reason for the decline in morale and the growth of discouragement among school teachers has been the vote of no-confidence they have received from the political representatives of the American people. I know of no profession

* *New York Times Magazine*, August 24, 1975

** I am indebted to Gregory Anrig, Chief State School Officer in Massachusetts, for the development of this argument

that has been harassed to the same degree by politicians, who have decided to take into their own hands the details of a complex business, teaching and learning, that these same politicians know very little about. They have imposed state laws about the accountability of teachers and the testing of children that intrude into the educational process in unforeseen ways. The bandwagon of basic competency testing has spread so rapidly that it is hard to find a state without this unproved nostrum as its main answer to the improvement of teaching and learning.

You and I know that educational measurement carefully and properly used has some value in a school improvement program, and we know also that without a much larger investment in ensuring quality of instruction it has little value and is probably a deterrent to learning. I wonder why we have allowed this wave of muddle-headed thinking and ill-informed action to break over us? Overemphasis on tests is analogous to a medical procedure that consists solely of diagnosis without ever prescribing a remedy. In addition, most of the testing now being required is useless for defining the remedy needed for an individual child.

In schools which have undergone formal desegregation there is a special opportunity because the process of desegregating shakes things up and offers the chance to rethink organization, curriculum, and other fundamental elements of the school's program. Where this opportunity is grasped imaginatively, there is research evidence that learning improves.

All this suggests that we will have to spend the 1980's fashioning programs in every school to help teachers to be more successful with children. Such efforts can succeed. They depend upon learning how to take into account the beliefs, attitudes, and culture that children bring to school with them. They depend also upon working with children as individuals, maintaining high expectations in school for all the children there, building links between the school and the home, providing resources to help teachers with difficult problems, strengthening principals' skills as instructional leaders, and turning our energies in educational research from large-scale surveys of highly analyzed data to careful observation and illumination of the intimate business of teaching and learning that occurs between teacher and child.

In support of these assertions, I call to your special attention the recent research in London by Michael Rutter and his colleagues. They appear to me to be well on the way to proving that schools with certain characteristics can and do make a difference to so-called disadvantaged students, and to proving in

addition that the factors in schools that matter most in determining their capacity for positive influences on "pupils' behavior, attendance, exam success and delinquency" are "the characteristics of schools as social institutions." Their study concludes "that schools can do much to foster good behavior and attainments, and that even in a disadvantaged area, schools can be a force for good."*

These are refreshing assertions in the face of the oversimplified generalizations that the United States media have popularized to the effect that schools don't make a difference. As I have noted earlier, schools may not be able all on their own to overcome all the effects of poverty and discrimination, but there is clear evidence in Rutter's research that they can be much more effective in moving toward this goal if they are properly organized and operated. This will come as no news to many teachers and principals, but it may surprise a few social scientists, who are accustomed to judging the schools by reading computer printouts rather than visiting them. This is like studying matrimony by reading the divorce statistics.

Bringing about a commitment to these purposes in our schools cannot be legislated by state or national government. It is more the business of local school boards and local superintendents and still more the concern of principals and teachers. But state and national governments can help in two ways—by providing funds and by refraining from writing detailed prescriptions about how they are to be used. The best rethinking and reform of practice in the schools will come from persons who encounter children every day, not from persons removed from that experience.

Back in 1967 the Congress and the President created the Education Professions Development Act to provide resources for the retraining of teachers and other educational personnel. The core of this legislation was allowed to lapse in 1975. Although it had some imperfections, we need something like it in the 1980's. Also, we need to recognize in states and local districts that funds from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the really large-scale source of federal money for schools, can be turned to the same purposes. In addition, schools need more freedom then they are now allowed to combine funds from different sources for the benefit of children in the classroom. The concept that the numerous federal programs

* *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children*, Michael Rutter et al., Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979, p. 205

for assistance to education must be separate and discrete in the school is a prescription for educational chaos.

SUMMARY

In conclusion I return to where this discussion began, to the myths we live by. One of those myths is that Americans can solve any problem in short order if only they will turn their energies to the task. The experience of the past 20 years in the schools with the related issues of school desegregation and school improvement should by now have convinced us that as far as the schools are concerned, this is indeed a myth. We are engaged in a long, difficult struggle with intractable and multifaceted difficulties. We shall still be so engaged at the onset of the 1990's. There is no quick fix.

But in the 10 years ahead of us we have a chance to make some progress. That chance depends upon tempering our attitudes toward both pluralism and the melting pot in ways that will allow us to draw strength from both, upon rethinking our obligations and our strategies for bringing children their constitutional rights under the *Brown* decision, and upon school reform fundamentally based on the exchange between teachers and children.

International Education in a Troubled World

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I have just finished the first draft of the introduction to the final report of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. One of the key chapters that still requires a good bit of work is the chapter on International Education from Kindergarten through Twelfth Grade, that is, through the precollegiate years. So I look forward not only to the chance of exposing you in a preliminary way to some of the ideas that are candidates for inclusion in that chapter but also to saying something about the thinking of at least this reporter on the whole field of international education and the U.S. position as it looks forward to the 1980's.

One has to start, in talking about the future of international education, with the change in the environment in which the United States as a country and we as citizens find ourselves as we approach the 1980's. Three external dimensions in the environment in which we live have changed considerably: First, since 1947 or 1948, and certainly since 1950, our whole military posture with respect to potential enemies and potential friends has undergone a dramatic change. After 30 years, we are only now adjusting ourselves to that change. The best evidence is to listen to the talks on SALT II, let alone the preliminary conversations on SALT III—assuming there's a SALT II. That military posture has changed from one when in the period from about 1945 up to the beginning of the 1950's we felt that the United States had a monopoly on atomic bombs, weapons, and the means of delivery. With our B-52 and B-47 bombers, we could put pressure on potential enemies, particularly the USSR, and order the Russians or the Chinese to cease and desist from any threats of war. We would say, "No way, friends; just stop or we will let loose our B-52's and an armory of atomic weapons on Moscow and other big cities."

That was essentially the main argument of the post-World War II period. It was the Strategic Air Command's argument of 1945 to about 1952 or 1953. Then some awkward things happened during the 1950's. The first was that the Russians developed an atomic weapon of their own, and in 1957 we suddenly

had the chilling realization they—the Russians—could deliver these bombs just as well as we could, not by airplanes but by an intercontinental ballistic missile, which became technically visible and possible as we saw Sputnik cross the skies in 1957. From '57 on it was clear that the game had changed. The combined U.S. monopoly on delivery systems and on atomic weapons changed very rapidly. With respect to Russia, we were only one of two parties and instead of having nuclear monopoly to maintain our military power for the rest of the century, we found ourselves in a standoff with the Russians which we now call "détente."

So as we go into the 1980's, and certainly the rest of the century, we are in a world where the United States is not just one of two powers but one of many powers that have both weapons and the means of delivering them. We have the chilling realization that there are other powers, some of them quite small, that could send a submarine or an innocent looking freighter into New York Harbor and could detonate a hydrogen bomb and demolish all of New York City in one blow. I don't want to overdramatize this but I would like to make the point that our military thinkers are aware that the name of the game has changed as we go into the 1980's. We live in a multipolar world in which it isn't just the strong that have weapons that can decimate another but it can also be the small, the weak and many others.

On the economic scene the game has changed too. Following our successful venture in getting Europe back on its feet with the Marshall Plan, again in the 1940's, we had the notion that if we just supplied enough men and brains and American ingenuity to the developing world, they too would struggle out of their backward circumstances. By following the U.S. lead with respect to the combination of capitalist doctrine and democratic politics, they too would move from their primitive world into the modern one. We don't believe that is true any more. We have found that quite contrary to the notion that industrialization would even out the difference between peoples, industrialization does just the opposite in many countries. Today, some 60 years after the first of the major revolutions in Mexico, where they now pride themselves on being a socialist state—which in many ways they are and many ways are not—the disparity between the upper quartile and the fourth quartile of the Mexican population is greater today than it was 50 years ago. This is true in many countries of the world; and the rich do get richer and the poor don't necessarily close that gap. Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank, says that the gap between the rich

and the poor is greater today. So the United States, which formerly had the role of bringing the rest of the world up to its level over a 50-year period, now finds itself in the embarrassing position of being pressured by those who say we will never make it the way the world is now organized; we'll have to think of something else. And that something else sounds very dangerous.

The third area where the name of the world game has changed is in the field of science and education. At the end of World War II, we thought we were the scientific leader of the world. The countries that had competed with us, France and Britain, were exhausted; a good part of their youth had been killed; the Russians, Germans, and Japanese had lost tens of millions of people and many of their factories and laboratories burnt to the ground. We were the dominant factor in science, which, by the way, led to having English become the monopoly language because everybody wanted to plug into our science. But we were very good at exporting science, much better than we had been at exporting prosperity, and the result is that in the 35 years since the end of the war, there has been a rise in the competitive position both with respect to abstract and basic reaearch in science to applied technology. One has only to see our stores to see what the German and the Japanese manufacturers are sending to this country. In the field of basic research, the United States, which prided itself on having the greatest basic research establishment in the world, now finds itself only one of the many.

While this is going on in science, internal changes are taking place that affect our international position also. As we all know by looking at our students, there has been a change from a preoccupation on the part of most of them with material and technological competence to a preoccupation with human and humane values. This means that many of this age group—our children, our students—no longer believe that the goal in life is a matter that can be measured in terms of dollar income or the GNP. They believe that there are other equally important values, and this is having a direct effect on our external relations. Let me give you a dramatic example. The whole business of Iran and its position in the world is a matter so critical that it is hard to overstate the impact of the fall of the Shah and his regime on the external position of the United States. One reason that the Shah's position was undermined was that Americans here, and Iranian students who had migrated from Iran, and students in many parts of the world had decided that on the grounds of humane values the Shah's regime must go. They

did not consider the impact on the strategic balance in the Middle East when the conclusion was reached that the most important value the United States had to pursue was that of human rights in all countries of the world and the most visible place to show it was in Iran. I remember an incident two years ago, before the Shah was deposed, in the College of Architecture in Rome. A professor friend of mine was showing me the Italian students protesting Italy's recognition of Iran, on the single ground that the regime was repressive and tens of thousands of people were in jail. And so the foreign policy of Italy, as in Japan and many other countries, was being dictated by the way in which the Shah organized the social life of Iran. The policy had nothing to do with what had been the determinant up to that point, namely, the strategic position of Iran, the importance of those airfields for observation of Russian military power, the two-pillar program we had in the Middle East where Iran and Saudi Arabia were to maintain the stability that we needed.

Domestically, discovering and believing values about the way in which people ought to behave and regimes ought to organize their society were now the dominant factors in U.S. foreign policy, not economic and strategic considerations. I mention this only to indicate that this has added a dimension to the management of our foreign affairs that did not exist before the war.

This combined with another basic domestic development, namely, that of our cultural pluralism. Somewhere in the last 50 years we moved away from the notion of the United States as a great melting pot. That notion gradually came under pressure as our values gave way to the notion that American society was going to be culturally pluralistic, that racial and ethnic minorities should maintain connections with their homeland; they should keep their values, their costumes, their language. This in turn meant that connections between minority populations in the United States and countries overseas should be maintained and strengthened. One has only to talk about the interest of our blacks in what is going on in South Africa under the leadership of Andy Young, or go to Hamtramck in Michigan and find out what the Polish population there thinks of the repressive activities of the Russians on Polish life and culture. The drift towards cultural pluralism is just beginning to peak. If it is going to peak, it will be tied to this preoccupation with humane values rather than with military or economic power and will affect foreign policy at least through the rest of the century.

I know I was supposed to talk about the 1980's but you will forgive me if I have been talking about matters that are going to

extend beyond the 1980's. There is one more point I want to make under this first heading about changes. The changes that I've described are going to require some fundamental adaptation in the behavior of our government and in the attitude and style of our people. One has only to look at the many civilizations that have gone by the boards—read Mr. Toynbee—when they have not been able to adapt to circumstances that require new modes of behavior and new attitudes. Gibbons tells us that the Roman Empire fell because the Romans insisted that the people of Thrace and Nicaea and the north coast of Africa had to behave like Romans. And the colonial powers of France and England withered in part because *unlike* the Catholic Church, they insisted that the people who were to become French colonists or even English colonists must behave like Frenchmen and Englishmen. The Catholic Church was in great danger until very recently of being very parochial in the sense that the Popes all had to be Italian. The great break in that tradition of putting a Pole in there is not so much, in my opinion, that this showed an interest in the complexities of East/West tensions but rather that the Catholic Church recognized that if it was going to maintain its validity as a really international body, they could not do so by electing only an Italian year after year or century after century. They have broken that tradition and the Catholic Church has survived and has taken a step which I think is likely to be the strongest thing it could possibly do. We also face the necessity of adapting ourselves to changing circumstances.

Now let me say something about the kinds of changes the world I have described requires. Let me mention, out of a long list, three that strike me as particularly important. First, as to our government. It is reasonably clear to all observers that one of the consequences of the changes I have described is to move the United States from a position where independence and isolation was to be the major center of its policy, to a completely new way of doing business, namely, interdependence. Somebody has said that we are going to have to move from a country that only plays singles in tennis to doubles, and you know how complicated it is for somebody who's never played doubles to suddenly get on a tennis court and have to play with a partner. Or we can move from the role of the quarterback on a football team to that of the playmaker of a basketball team. We are going to have to move from a world in which we have had two basic postures: (a) we wanted to be independent of it and (b) where our interests were concerned, we wanted to dominate it. If we couldn't dominate it, we wanted to withdraw.

Watch the debate on oil right now to see how we are altering our course. Since Nixon, all of our presidents have said, "We are going to be independent of Middle East oil." That is sheer, unadulterated nonsense. But in the next breath they do not say that slow American production, lack of fuel reserves, and wasteful use of American domestic oil will cause us to run out within a decade unless new reserves are found. Within a decade there will be no American oil unless we find large reserves and the Alaskan oil will take care of us for about three and a half years. How does one talk about the U.S. function in anything like the way we understand it without recognizing our dependence on oil from outside the United States? But this a knee-jerk reaction that politicians find useful because all have already said that we are going to be independent of Middle East oil. We say, "Hooray." We think that's a great thing because for 200 years when we couldn't control a problem we've said the thing we must do is be independent of it.

I say that that instinct has its good sides to it. We came away from Europe to get rid of kings and church. We set up a new frontier country for people escaping the Irish famines and the German oppression. All came to this country to get away from a society they did not like. So inside our government the notion of being independent from the rest of the world lies very deep, and gives us strength in the way in which we react to the rest of the world.

But I'm saying that the change we're going to have to go through is one where if a problem is one that we cannot control ourselves, we're going to have to figure out how to control it in concert with other people. There is no escape from that. The notion of a U.S. fortress (military, economic, educational, scientific, cultural) into which we can escape, is a dream that must be dropped.

The next change that must occur for us as individuals is to change our notion of being superior and in control to one of cooperation and participation. I don't think anyone really understands the way Americans and British think about people who come from other countries unless you watch them in action. It's a frightening experience to see the smugness of Americans which they sometimes do very little to conceal. Look at the countries in the developing world, and even those in Europe, who are told that if they would just listen to us and do at home what we tell them to do, how much better off they would be. We never say it in quite those words. But let me tell you that message comes through with twitches of eyebrows, smiles on the face, when you listen to somebody say, "Well, we

do it differently here." The Panama Canal debate brought out all the factors I've just been discussing. First, we asked if the Panamanians could take charge. This was a replay of the French and the British talking about the Suez. How did they know that the Egyptians could run the canal? They could in fact do it very well. It will turn out that the Panama Canal eventually will be run pretty well even without Americans. But there was during those debates the *leitmotif* of turning the management of this complex state called the Canal Zone over to people who some said were not able to run a canal. And don't think that message didn't get through to the Panamanians.

Not only the Panamanians but throughout Latin American the nature of our debate with this notion that it was wrong to turn the canal over to the unwashed, at least the untutored, was a note that was picked up in almost every capital of South America. We are going to have to get rid of that attitude and it isn't going to be achieved in one generation. It's not going to be by 1980, because the idea of U.S. or Anglo-Saxon superiority by reason of some God-given strain that was given to us, and particularly to the white members of the American system, is one of the changes that will take time. We ought to watch ourselves and each other because a lot of this is so instinctive that it is not vicious in the sense that it is a conscious effort to put people down. It has been instinctive for 200 to 300 years. Let me assure you that one of the biggest problems we have in our collaborative efforts is to convince people that we have forgotten this notion that we are superior.

My third point is that we have to move from a notion that is essentially parochial to one that is cosmopolitan. By cosmopolitan I mean the belief and recognition that *because something is different it is not inferior.* I have that statement on the wall in my office, and I hope all will believe it someday, and that we tell our children this very fundamental lesson. We have to unlearn 200 years of history if we intend to create a better world. But that isn't a point of view that sells in the world in which we're going to have to mix and have the support of people who do not believe that the United States is somehow endowed with superiority.

What are the needs then, if we are going to change these attitudes to meet the new circumstances both overseas and domestically in the 1980's?

First, understanding what is going on overseas becomes absolutely imperative. The notion that what we don't know won't hurt us we all now know is nonsense. That's where you really

get hurt. I can remember a football player named Gifford—I think he played with the New York Giants. He said that his career was ended because he was blind-sided by a player by the name of Bednarik. You people are all too young to remember that name and what happened. As you may know a linebacker or even an end coming in to pick up a pass sometimes has to turn and go back. Well, Bednarik came in and clipped him just as he was turning back. He was blind-sided. We can be blind-sided by the absence of understanding of the world with which we have to deal. And this has to start at the kindergarten level. It has to run all through the formal school system and it has to run throughout life.

We cannot deal with the Japanese without knowing something about the nature of, or the absence of, the role of religion in the Japanese society, the way they organize their factories, the very complicated interplay between government and large combines (Toyota, Mitsubishi and others).

We even have to learn something about the budgetary process in Germany. We have to know something about the local elections going on in the Länder which may tip the balance in the Bundestag and be antithetical to the interests of the United States. In short, we have to follow the internal activities of the countries of the world almost as closely as we follow our own. It is very interesting to sit in on State Department discussions as I did recently. I thought I would be hearing all about our dealings with the Foreign Office of Germany. Not at all; the real negotiations with Germany were with the Minister of Finance and his subordinates and the heads of three or four of the local states. They were the ones who were dealing with the budget process and our Treasury Department was extremely interested in dealing with them. The Foreign Secretary didn't know anything about the budget. That is why it is imperative that we understand the internal management, the distribution of power in other countries, not just our own.

Our second great need is going to be to train experts and leaders. Willy Brandt, when he was in this country several years ago, said his greatest fear about the relationship between the United States and Germany, and indeed between the United States and all of Europe, was the fact that the Americans who had received their education either in military government in Germany at the end of the war and in Europe throughout the era were about to go off the scene. Who would be coming on the scene? Have they ever been in Germany? Do they know German? Do they know Germans? Do they know the French and Italians? Do they know the complex problems of East-West

German relationships? Their predecessors did because they were there. Where are the trained leaders going to come from to replace those who had the great advantage of seeing European affairs at first hand after World War II?

Communication is the third problem. The capacity to communicate presents enormous difficulties. It includes all the formality of diplomatic language. Sometimes the process of communication between governments actually gets fouled up because of the desire not to communicate. Or to communicate falsely. Anyone who's read the story of the landings in Normandy knows that the death toll would have been two or three times as high if we hadn't been sending false information to the Germans, which fortunately they believed: (that there was a second force poised to land on the coast further east, which left the coast we did land on relatively exposed.) So the problem of government-to-government communication is a serious problem. Most governments know that honesty, openness and accuracy is only one way of communicating. There are other ways that may be purposely inaccurate. When Mr. Kruschev was at the U.N., as you may remember, he took off his shoe and banged it on the table. He was communicating all right. What was he trying to say? He was saying, "Don't count on us Russians being rational because rationally we should not attack you in Berlin. But we are capable of irrationality. Look at me bang my shoe on the desk of the United Nations."

That was taken into account at the time when we had our showdown with the Russians in Cuba. The people in Washington were saying that if we could only count on the Russians being reasonable we'd know they wouldn't attack because they don't want to set off an atomic exchange. But remember Khruschev? My God, if he can take off his shoe and bang the table there he can send off a plane, or a bomber, or a Sputnik.

The problem of government-to-government communication is complex. But in the realm of people-to-people communication, that is, between non-governmental institutions, there is a real self-interest in being accurate and open. This is true of the educational community 99 percent of the time, not 100 percent. We need expert and trained leadership and we need an opening of communications which in large part will have to take place outside government.

How are we doing, with respect to understanding other people and other countries? Not very well at all. Two years ago UNESCO made a study of nine countries, of which the United

States was one. They questioned 30,000 ten- and fourteen-year-olds to find out where they ranked in terms of their understanding of the world outside their borders. The Americans came out eighth of the nine. Forty percent of high school students in a 1977 questionnaire thought that Israel was an Arab country. In the same year, only 3 percent of our undergraduates at the collegiate level were taking any course that touched on international affairs. And a recent Gallup poll discovered that 50 percent of our people of all ages didn't know that we imported any oil at all. This is somewhat deficient, you might say. And the process by which that understanding is to come about needs to be reexamined.

Leadership and experience come from two things. They come from advanced training and research, mostly but not exclusively at the universities. On this front the Ford Foundation has (in the last five or seven years) dropped its support for research and advanced training from $30 million per year to $3 million—one tenth as much as they were putting into it. The federal support of this same group, area centers, as well as the Fulbright program, which makes it possible for people to have experience overseas, has effectively been cut in half by having the same amount of money, worth only 50 percent due to inflation.

There were two dangerous years when the federal support of our advanced training and research programs almost disappeared entirely. This might have happened if it hadn't been for the House leadership which restored a large part of the money—it was cut out of the federal budget at the Executive level and also in the Senate. But the House held firm and the money was restored. And the federal International Education Act, passed in the 1960's, was allowed to expire just within the last 12 months.

Foreign languages. These are figures on foreign languages you all know better than I—as a matter of fact you all gave them to me, but I'll quote them back to you. Twenty % of high schools in our country offer no foreign languages at all. Only 15 percent of high school students are studying foreign languages, a drop from 24% in the last decade. Only 8% of the colleges of this country require a foreign language for admission. And this was down from 34% requiring a foreign language just 12 years ago. And here is a blockbuster: Only 20% of the qualified applicants for the Foreign Service spoke a foreign language at an acceptable level.

In this last section on the necessary actions, I would like to concentrate on 10 suggestions which bear on the case. They are not in order of importance.

First, it would be recommended—you have indeed asked us to say so—that all school districts should offer a foreign language at least through two years, and preferably through four.

Second, that the federal government appropriate money for capitation grants, meaning grants to school districts to support third and fourth year classes in one or two foreign languages. And also, in an equal amount, funding is necessary for those school districts that do not now offer a course, particularly at the high school level, in the exotic languages, namely, languages other than the five international languages, Russian, Spanish, French, English and German.

Let me tell why we stress the third and fourth years. We do so because it has now become reasonably clear that two years' exposure to a foreign language, two or three times a week, doesn't give you very much. As a matter of fact it gives you very little. It is only after you have gone through the first and second years and have had the third and fourth, educators tell me, that a foreign language competence begins to get built up.

Third, we may recommend federal support, perhaps again on a matching basis, to both states and school districts for the development of magnet language high schools, high schools which like the High School of Science in New York City specialize in foreign language. There are such high schools already in existence. I'm sure there are in some of your districts. There's one on Long Island which teaches eight different languages. And the schools from nearby send their teachers there for further instruction and children who wish to have a language not taught in their school have the privilege of going there. There's a big transportation problem of which I'm sure you're aware. But the recommendation is that something like 60 of these be established with federal funding in the major urban areas of the United States. They would act as language centers covering a spectrum of languages to which children not able to get the language in their own school may come for instruction.

Fourth, funds from the federal government, perhaps again on a matching basis, would support what is already being done at the state level, that is, more innovative teaching and curricular experimentation, particularly with respect to foreign language and global studies. On the foreign language side, should we train people to speak and write? When should grammar be introduced as opposed to the spoken word? I'm not a technician on these matters, but I've watched my children and saw their interest in language die with grammar in the first 10 lessons. But when they asked a taxi-driver where the Empire State Building was, and he understood them, that was a great triumph. So

I think that the business of making curriculum relevant means to make it oral for the purpose of communicating; that means that grammar comes second as with the Chinese. I was in the Peking schools just a year ago where the third grade children are taught only English. They do not study grammar but they put the words on the blackboard that they are asked to pronounce and they take English right straight through high school—it's a continum, which is a great problem in this country. This lack of continuous language instruction in our school systems is one of the biggest blocks toward really learning a language.

As for innovation—does the name John Rassias ring a bell with anybody? He is a professor at Dartmouth and a professor of languages who has developed the most fascinating way of arousing interest in his freshmen who come without any language capability. I've sat through a demonstration. It's very dramatic. It can be done with innovative teaching and a curriculum using the oral teaching method.

Fifth. Overseas experience and travel, as one gets to the high school level, will hopefully increase in both public and private programs for high school students who want the chance to go overseas. This pays off not only for language capability. It's a great shock to American children to discover that these bright young people abroad can speak Spanish and French.

Sixth. Every state should have a citizens' or independent advisory council on foreign languages and international studies. These people or this council should probably be advisors to the chief state school officer.

Seventh. Combined with this same issue there ought to be at least one top officer in each state attached to the chief state school officer who monitors the development of the matters I've just discussed and we will be discussing in this statement. I have been told a number of times that there used to be many such officers until the financial squeeze pushed these people off the payrolls. I don't know if that's so. If it is true, then a linchpin at the state level is being removed because you know and I know that unless a function is put specifically and avowedly and visibly on the back of some visible and identifiable human being, the chances are that not much will happen.

Eighth. We will encourage as best we may area and problem centers at the collegiate and advanced levels to increase their outreach by giving increased attention to both undergraduate and secondary school instruction. The material they produce must be translated down to the level of the youngsters in high school, instead of just for the people like themselves. Research centers must also reach out into the community. Not only is

this good for the secondary schools and for the community, but it is very good for the research and for the professors themselves to get out of the libraries and research carrels and to try to explain what they are saying to people who may not be as sophisticated as they are.

Ninth, teacher training and re-training facilities. If there is one thing that the teaching community has said loud and clear at all the public hearings, it is that they are eager to upgrade the level of competence in language teaching and teaching with respect to global education. Interestingly enough, this has been a grass-roots pressure from the teaching community and has been accepted by those who manage such programs because they believe that the teachers are serious. Part of that teacher training and re-training is to expose them to opportunities for overseas experience, and not just for the foreign language teachers. The thing that impresses the youngster in the classroom is to hear his professor of mathematics, geography or some other field try to explain something in another language. They know that the French teacher must be interested in French because, after all, his paycheck depends on it. But why on earth is the geographer stimulating our interest in French or Spanish or German? It must be that he thinks it's important.

Finally, the *tenth* one. We will be recommending, and whether it will fly or not we don't know, the establishment of a national council on foreign language and international studies financed by private funds with people who are drawn from but do not specifically represent the various areas of concern, from kindergarten on through the advanced level. Such a notion is already in the process of being discussed with some foundations. I cannot tell you whether it will work or not but there is an enormous interest in not having this report which has accumulated a certain amount of attention just go on a shelf in the White House. There ought to be some organized body that sees to it that the American public does not forget what is said, and that will continue to serve groups like yours where, after all, within certain limits, you cannot function very much ahead of what interests of the parents and the children and the community which you serve wish you to do. So there may well be a national council—located in Washington or in some other part of the United States.

Action Priorities for The 80's

Marian Wright Edelman, Director, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C.

INTRODUCTION

I write with a spirit of deep concern—not negativism—about public education. My thoughts are not as an outsider but as one with an integral stake in public schools. As a parent of three sons (ages five, eight and nine) in public schools, I want to keep them there and see them get a *good* education. And I want for other children what I want for my own—for practical as well as for altruistic reasons. I don't want my children to have to support other people's dependent children if I can prevent it. And we're all getting older. We're going to need as many productive young people contributing to the Social Security system as we can find!

As a professional child advocate working from the outside, I seek your help as child advocates working from the inside. It is my belief and hope that we have far more in common than in conflict and that both our work will contribute to children's needs being more effectively met. A key hope is that we may establish a process to work together rather than at odds. Finally, I would like to ask for your help as the Children's Defense Fund works to accomplish a specific children's agenda over the next decade which we feel is of vital importance to educators.

We're trying to reach out to all those who work with children. I hope we will be met halfway by professionals serving children. Working to improve the conditions of and services available to children and families in a range of institutions—for example, child health and preventive services to families—enhances your chances of doing a better job of educating children. Children who are hungry, in poor health, and have unstable and stressful family lives, are not as likely to learn as well as children who do not suffer these problems.

I want to convey three things: (1) describe briefly why the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) exists so that you will have a context for my remarks; (2) describe briefly some of the crucial needs and problems of American children, including educational ones; and (3) propose a few action priorities for your consideration in the 1980's.

The Children's Defense Fund: What Is It and What Does It Do?

Children do not vote or make campaign contributions. As a result, their needs are often ignored when political, budget or other key policy decisions are made.

CDF, a national public charity, began in 1973 to provide systematic and long-range advocacy on behalf of children and their families. It grew out of the work of the Washington Research Project, Inc., its parent organization, which was formed in 1968 to help poor and minority people investigate and monitor the many federal programs passed in the 1960's designed to help them. In the course of our work, we learned that many of the policies and practices that disproportionately hurt poor and nonwhite children also hurt many white, middle-class children as well. School systems that mislabeled a poor black child as mentally retarded were also likely to mislabel a middle-class white as hyperactive or learning disabled. And adequate special educational services existed for neither. We saw patterns of discrimination, lack of due process, poor quality programs, and the inability of local communities and citizens to enforce accountability for services cutting across race and class lines in a range of child serving institutions. We saw too many deficiencies and too much blame passing, but too few cooperative attempts by parents, educators and other professionals, and advocates, to design and devise constructive solutions to the problems children faced.

In order to change the institutional and bureaucratic barriers to all children receiving the basic services they need to grow up and function effectively in this society, CDF pursues a range of strategies. There is no one way to change things. One of the reasons we believe many organizations working on behalf of children have had limited effectiveness is because they have pursued single issues and single tactics. While we believe in specificity and recognize the many different constituencies that exist around a range of children's issues, we also believe it is important to look at the whole child. Similarly we believe that to be effective we have to be able to pursue a range of strategies. In addition to research, public education, and publications, (we have issued seven books, with one more planned for early 1980, and numerous shorter booklets and pamphlets) we monitor federal executive and legislative policies, litigate when necessary, and provide technical assistance to state and local groups interested in working on behalf of children. We run our own local advocacy project in Jackson, Mississippi in order to stay in touch

with local needs and implementation problems. This year we have begun a National Children's Public Policy Network to link more effectively state and local needs with national policies and vice versa. We have just begun a newsletter, *CDF Reports*.

CDF is not just a civil rights group focusing just on the needs of minority children. It was becoming increasingly clear in the late 1960's and early 1970's that programs labeled just for the poor or minority groups were facing resistance and a shrinking base. New paths had to be explored to continue old struggles, and new issues identified around which specific coalitions could be built that were based on self-interest as well as justice.

Children who are different for a variety of reasons are the real "minority" in this country. They span race and class and language. Our job is to find the common thread of self-interest between and among them, understand when common remedies may be appropriate, and begin to make common cause for their welfare. This requires careful analysis, issue and geographic targeting, as well as targeted remedies when appropriate.

CDF is therefore a civil rights and a non-civil rights organization. In each of our five program areas—child health, right to education, child care and family support services, child welfare, and juvenile justice—we pursue two simultaneous approaches: a civil rights and a non-civil rights, or substantive, approach. The first question we ask is how a particular policy affects all children. The second is whether it unfairly affects certain groups of children. Let me illustrate with the problem of school suspensions, a major contributing factor to school dropouts and one that educators must rethink and seek more constructive solutions to in the 1980's.

According to the latest available suspension data for the 1975–76 school year, a half million black children were expelled or suspended at least once. Far more white than black children were suspended, but black children were suspended at a rate more than twice that of white children. A question of possible discrimination, therefore, is raised in the application of school discipline policies which requires special investigative techniques, data and remedies.

But there are substantive questions about the use of suspensions that go beyond discrimination. Do most suspensions make sense as an educational tool for any child? Do they effectively deal with a child's problem? Are they really necessary? Are there better in-school disciplinary alternatives that would substantially reduce the number of suspensions for both white and black children while maintaining discipline? Our report on school suspensions showed that the majority of suspensions

were for nonviolent offenses like truancy, tardiness, smoking, and dress code violations, and that too few schools were trying alternatives before resorting to disciplinary exclusion.*

Finally, CDF concentrates on institutional rather than individual abuse of children. We are not children's liberationists. We are as concerned about meeting the needs of children as in extending their rights in certain areas. We believe that the best way to help most children is by helping their families. Ninety-eight percent of American children grow up in some kind of family. We believe that meeting children's needs requires, first, massive public education about children's needs and the specific ways in which they can be met; and second, building a visible and well organized constituency to accomplish a series of specific goals for children and their families over the next decade. Our latest National Legislative Agenda for Children covers the kinds of immediate and long-range issues we are pursuing in the Congress. Though lobbying constitutes a very small percentage of our work, we set similar non-legislative, and complementary goals, in our program areas each year.

An Overview of Children's Needs

Millions of children grow up in poverty even though the consequences to children of poverty are great.

- Almost 17 percent (or over one in six) of all American children live in official abject poverty making them the most disproportionately poor of any age group in America, including the elderly.*
- Poor children's chances of dying in their first year of life are two-thirds greater than children living above the poverty level. Poor children are four times more likely to be in fair to poor health than middle-class children, but ironically, only half as likely to have seen a doctor in the past year. In one state, 61 percent of children in foster care came from poor families; only 6 percent came from families earning $10,000 or more.

Many children needlessly die in infancy and go without doctors and dentists.

- One in 65 American infants dies each year. Among nonwhite infants, one in 43 dies annually. One in seven American children (almost 10 million) has no known source of

* See *School Suspensions: Are They Helping Children?* (Washington, D.C.: Children's Defense Fund, 1975).

* Poverty is defined here as income of less than $6,195 for a four-person family in 1977.

health care. One in three (over 18 million) has not seen a dentist. Yet the largest federal health program providing funds for the early detection and care of children's health problems reaches fewer than one-fourth of the 13 million children eligible for Medicaid.

Thousands and thousands of children go without homes.

- CDF's recent report, *Children Without Homes,* found that over 500,000 children live away from their families in facilities ranging from individual foster family homes and group homes to large institutions. Far too many of these children are unnecessarily or prematurely removed from their homes before attempts have been made to work with or to provide services to their families. Tens of thousands of them have been placed in inappropriate facilities, for long periods of time, often away from their home communities and even out of their states at great taxpayer expense. They live in a twilight area, neither returned home nor provided a permanent new family through adoption.

Children still go hungry in America and die needlessly in urban and rural areas from denial of the most basic necessities of life. My friend, Dr. Aaron Shirley, who runs a neighborhood health clinic in Mississippi, told a *Washington Post* reporter recently that "25% of all children that the clinic sees for the first time have worms," that "20% are anemic," and that "most are malnourished." The article then reported:

> He then reached for an autopsy report of a five-year-old girl. 'She died in June of secondary pneumonia, brought about by a bacterial infection caused by worms in her intestines.' Dr. Shirley goes on to say, 'After that little girl died, our clinic went out and built a privy and installed a 55-gallon barrel of water on that land. We got clean drinking water and got the other kids on the program and helped comfort the mother in her grief. She was nearly destroyed. A few weeks later, our clinic social worker went out and couldn't find anybody. The state welfare folks put Momma in jail for neglect and abuse and put the kids in foster care. God knows where they are. Here was a Momma doing all she could. Everybody knows the symptoms for Ascaris worms—"a cold and a runny nose"—are not the kind that would lead you to a hospital. Instead of reaching out to find these poor rural people with no privies and no water, the welfare answer is to punish the Momma and take the children away."*

* Myra MacPherson, "A Poverty No Program Can Crack: Ten Years Bring Little Change to A Mississippi Delta Town," *Washington Post, Outlook,* February 26, 1978.

Far too many of our children go uneducated.

- CDF's first report, *Children Out of School in America*, found almost two million children not enrolled in school. They were out, for the most part, not by choice but because they had been excluded or neglected by school officials. Children out of school had special education or language needs, inadequate clothes or money to buy textbooks or pay school or transportation charges, or were pregnant. In sum, children who are "different" are not treated fairly in too many schools all over America.

After several years with P.L. 94-142, which mandates services to handicapped youngsters, the numbers of children still denied total access to public education are great: in 1977, almost one million school-age children were neither enrolled in school nor high school graduates.*

- Over 800,000 handicapped children (over 1 in 5) are not receiving the services from public schools which they require.
- For every 100 students who graduate from high school, 29 drop out. Among black and Hispanic children, there is one dropout for every two graduates.**
- Almost 1.8 million students were suspended from school at least once during 1976; 1.1 million were white; half a million were Black; 90,000 were Hispanic. Yet, fewer than 120,000 students were referred to any alternative program to deal with discipline problems.
- Some 2.7 million public school students were in special education programs in 1976. Twice as many white students were in classes for learning disabled children as compared to classes for the educable mentally retarded. The reverse was true for Black students, with twice as many in educable mentally retarded classes. CDF is publishing this year a booklet on the special problems of black children in special education—problems which I think you need to recognize and take precautions to guard against.***

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* *America's Children and their Families: Basic Facts* (Washington, D.C.: The Children's Defense Fund, 1979).

** We are disappointed that we will not be able to update dropout rates by race because of the deletion of this question on the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) survey form at the insistence of the chief state school officers. I hope we might discuss including it again as I think the public—and you—should know how well various groups are being served within schools and which groups are leaving school. We are also disappointed that the OCR survey question on disciplinary alternatives was deleted.

*** *Misclassification: Resegregation of Black Children* (Washington, D.C.: The Children's Defense Fund).

Ensuring that children gain access to school is a major and unfinished agenda for the 1980's. And the quality of what they receive while in school is the second issue of critical importance to children and their ability to make it as employable, productive adults when they leave school; to their parents, who make judgments about whether the public schools are serving their children adequately; and to taxpayers, whose willingness to pay for education is in some measure based on their perceptions of how effective a job the schools are doing. With a reported 13 percent of all 17-year-olds functionally illiterate—unable to read well enough to understand a want ad, unable to write well enough to fill out a job application and unable to count well enough to get the right change at the supermarket—the call to improve school's and children's performance is a serious one for CDF.*

The concern for educational quality is one that is broadening. It is not just minority children and parents who are having problems in schools and elsewhere and this fact is gradually reaching public consciousness and increasing the constituency for change. School violence, drugs and alcohol problems are the problems of suburbia as well as of inner-cities. Teenage pregnancies are affecting white as well as black families. Annually more than one out of every nine white firstborn children is illegitimate.

- In 1977 white children under 18 were *more* likely than children of other races to be arrested for vandalism, drug abuse, running away, and automobile offenses including negligent manslaughter. There was one arrest for every 15 white children between the ages of 11 and 17. More than half a million white teenagers were arrested for serious property crimes, more than 100,000 for drug abuse, 160,000 for drunkenness and liquor law violations, and another 160,000 for running away. More than 100,000 were arrested for vandalism. White teenagers were five times as likely as black teenagers were to be arrested for drunken driving.

Alienation and despair that may reflect the instability and isolation of too many families—white and black—are reflected in suicide rates that have increased more rapidly among white teenaged males since 1960 than among any other group of our young.

- For 15 to 19 year old white males there were 5.9 suicides per 100,000 population in 1960. By 1975, the rate had more than doubled to 13 per 100,000. While the teenaged male suicide rate among black children has also been increasing during this same period, it is still only a little more than

* *America's Children and Their Families: Basic Facts.*

half the white rate. Well over 1,000 white 15 to 19 year olds commit suicide each year, and the number continues to grow.

Why do these problems exist and why, you will ask me, don't their families do something? After all, it is their responsibility to see that their children go to school, see a doctor and drink decent water. I will answer you that most families want and often try to do something, but they frequently lack the access, confidence, know-how and power to affect the range of insitutions they need help from in raising their children. It is time for us all to stop pointing just at parents or at other institutions and get about the business of joining together to meet the needs of our children and this nation's future. It will not be easy. But it is as possible as it is necessary.

Eight Key Barriers to Meeting Children's Needs

First, too many Americans are content to bemoan the "breakdown" of traditional family patterns but refuse to help millions of families who struggle daily to raise children under conditions of poverty, unemployment, inflation and single or teenage parenthood. Compassion and practicality dictate that we offer help to children, even if we personally do not condone certain aspects of family change.

For instance, we can bemoan the 600,000 babies born to teenage mothers each year. But common sense and sane social policy dictate that their mothers get adequate counseling before they get pregnant. And teenage girls who do become pregnant should have access to information and help in deciding whether to have a child. For those who decide to bear their child, adequate prenatal care and social supports must be available. Schools have to play a special role in ensuring that education and skills are provided so that they can become productive—not dependent—adults.

Without these measures, the young mothers, their children and the rest of us will continue to pay in many ways for years to come. A recently released Stanford Research Institute study estimated the cost to American taxpayers of teenage pregnancies at about $8.3 billion a year in welfare and related outlays; a cost, according to the study, higher than the budgets of many countries, such as New Zealand or Portugal, and the total 1979 budgets of many federal departments, such as Commerce, Interior and State. If state financed abortions become unavailable, the study estimates an additional cost to taxpayers of $1.5 billion or a total of $9.8 billion a year.

Medicaid in 17 states does not cover maternity care for women during the first pregnancy. And so many young mothers go without care: currently seven out of 10 mothers under age 15 receive no prenatal care in the first three months of pregnancy; one-fourth receive no prenatal care at all, or not until the end of the pregnancy. The costs of increased infant mortality, birth defects and handicapping conditions related to neglecting these young mothers is an unnecessary and expensive burden for us all to bear.

Second, too many of us still picture the typical American family as being two parents, with a working father and a stay-at-home mother who cares for two normal children. But this family image represents only one in 17 American families today. There are 27.5 million children who have mothers who work outside the home. It is therefore no longer helpful to debate *whether* mothers should stay home or work. The issue now that so many do is what is needed to ensure quality child care and family stability. There are 9.2 million single-parent families and five million families with at least one child with a physical, mental, or emotional handicap. They need access to special services many cannot afford without public provision.

Third, many give lip service to valuing families while doing nothing about policies and programs that actually hurt families and children. What we say frequently has little relationship to what we do or are willing to pay for. There is no better example of this than the current anti-child, anti-family child welfare system that encourages far too many of the more than 500,000 children without homes to be unnecessarily taken from their families and institutionalized or left for a long periods in impermanent and costly out-of-home care. We are willing to pay an average of $575.30 a month to institutionalize a child and $254.07 to place a child in foster care. But we pay little for preventive services to keep families together or for adoption subsidies to help children gain a permanent family when their own are unable or unwilling to care for them. Seventy percent of all federal child welfare service funds now go toward out-of-home care of children.

Fourth, some are willing to sacrifice children for ideological or political or professional reasons. There are those who fan fears of government interference in family life while failing to help change government programs that are harming children and breaking up families. They make speeches about the virtues of family life while opposing family-strengthening measures, for example, extending welfare benefits to poor families with both

parents living at home. They castigate parents for being on the "dole," yet label as "Sovietizing" requests for adequate child care funds that would enable parents to work. They decry the loss of family control and decisionmaking, but oppose attempts to strengthen and enforce parent involvement in programs like Title I of ESEA or day care standards, or to improve program accountability in the delivery of social, health and educational services through better data, targeting and performance standards.

Fifth, too many private sector institutions would rather attack government as inefficient than take their share of responsibility for social problems to which they contributed. A fundamental examination of and debate about public and private responsibility for children is needed. While all would agree that parents have primary responsibility for children's upbringing, is no one else responsible at all? Is it adequate for media representatives and advertisers to say parents are solely responsible for whether their children watch violent shows or are influenced by commercials on television when they know that so many millions of working, single, or teenage parents cannot exercise constant vigilance over the television set? Is it adequate for toy and other product manufacturers to leave it up to parents alone to judge the safety and appropriateness of the vast array of products we are bombarded with? Is adequate information available upon which to make an informed judgment? Do many parents have the time and skills to study each product they buy? Is it socially responsible for some corporations and unions to leave it up to government—which they simultaneously criticize for intrusion—to provide youth training and jobs and to ensure nondiscriminatory operation of job entry and promotion, even though they have significant resources, and indeed responsibility, to share this task just as they shared in past discriminatory action? Do they not stand to gain from the improved work pool, added productivity and community stability that a better skilled and employed work force of all races brings?

Sixth, it is gospel today to declare all Great Society programs a failure, and to blame the "feds" for every sin. But government programs of the 60's and 70's have not all been ineffective. And where there have been inadequacies, to blame only the "feds" is to ignore the partnership of state and local governments in the failure of implementation of social programs over the last decade. If states don't like what the feds are doing, what are you proposing that is better? A lot of the regulations that you rebel against now stem from the failure of state responsibility for children at risk.

Rather than cast blame, the tasks today are to analyze carefully which programs worked or did not work, in which specific ways, for which specific reasons and to strengthen those that should be built on and change or terminate those that have been less successful. Those who dislike federal involvement have a responsibility to propose feasible alternatives to tackle the widespread needs of children and families, either through direct programs of their own or through attempts to make specific programs more efficient and accountable.

Seventh, children are hurt because a double standard is applied to domestic and defense needs by our national leaders. Policymakers listen too keenly to special interest lobby groups and little or not at all to the needs of children, who do not vote. Politicians may kiss babies and extol the virtues of family life, but they do not give priority to their needs when they propose or vote for or against programs. For instance, the most recent federal budget, which President Carter proposed and the Congress seems inclined in general levels to accept, proposes a cost of living plus 3 percent increase to the military. But children and their families, battered by inflation, unemployment and shrinking services, are told to make do with last year's level or much less. The Senate, under the guise of budget balancing, earlier slashed $85 million for a bill to give homeless children permanent families and $88 million from a preventive child health program, while simultaneously giving the Navy an extra $725 million for two destroyers ordered by the Shah of Iran.* Leaders who take such actions are serious about neither budget savings nor families and children. The American people must recognize and reject this political posturing and demand that specific, modest and cost-effective steps are taken to meet children's needs—for the real future and stability of this nation lies more with our young than with our military. We will be able to

* The Shah of Iran had ordered four destroyers on contract with the Defense Department, which in turn contracted with Litton Industries to build them. When the new Iranian government cancelled the order, two of the ships were partially built (one 36 percent, one 18 percent). The President's budget requested an FY Supplemental of $628 for two and FY80 funding of $725 million on the other two not yet begun. The House Armed Services supported this request. The Senate Armed Services Committee recommended a supplemental of $1.3 billion to pay for all four destroyers in 1979. The House Budget Committee scrapped all Department of Defense (DOD) supplementals, but put $725 million for two of the destroyers in its FY80 resolution. The Senate Budget Committee supported the entire DOD supplemental, but deleted funding for the destroyers. Its FY80 resolution, which passed the full Senate, contains $725 million for two of them. While it is unclear at this writing whether the full Congress will support the building of these ships, the betting is that they will go for at least two and maybe all four.

reverse the double standard only with the creation of a well-informed, visible and effectively organized constituency that makes children good politics.

Eighth, children are being victimized by the pervasive attitude these days that nothing can be done or is worth doing. This attitude is self-fulfilling, self-defeating and socially irresponsible. There is nothing less constructive than wallowing in problems while proclaiming the absence of solutions. This attitude is not what made this country great nor will it sustain its leadership in the future.

There *are* solutions to the problems of children outlined above. What is required is (1) the development of a thoughtful and specific agenda that breaks down the larger needs of children into manageable pieces for change; (2) massive public education to rally the support of the American public and policymakers, documenting the specific needs of our young and the steps that can be taken each year to meet them; (3) a number of strategies that will encourage the development, adoption and implementation of positive policies and programs for children nationally and in communities throughout the country; and (4) persistence. There are no quick fixes for the years of educational neglect, untreated illness, poverty and family struggle which have led so many children to an overburdened juvenile justice system and a closed job market.

Now is the time to begin to put into place specific education, preventive health and family strengthening measures. Through targeted and sustained efforts over a number of years, we *can* begin to redirect those educational, health, juvenile justice, child welfare, social service and economic failures that have victimized so many of our young and jeopardize their adult futures. Steps to help children are not dictated just by the need to "do good" and be fair. Such steps are dictated by common sense and practicality.

What Are the Actions Needed in the 80's By Educators?

First, you have got to rebuild public confidence in your concern for *children*. Council supported initiatives at the federal, state and local levels must be articulated in terms of, and in fact be designed to further the best interests of *children*. All too often, major education proposals, the Department of Education proposal being the latest, are put forth in terms of improving management efficiency/increasing the visibility of education/reducing red tape, as if the public and parents are to understand and believe that from these bureaucratic changes better services to *children* will flow. Proponents of the proposed department have

neither attempted to articulate or show how its creation will help children, particularly poor or minority or handicapped children, the intended beneficiaries of our major federal education programs.

Questions such as the following have never been answered:

—How the Department of Education will be any different than Office of Education in administering and enforcing federal education legislation designed to improve educational opportunities for the most vulnerable students?

—How the reorganization will improve the quality and quantity of services available to children in their schools, families, and communities?

—How an independent department will increase our national commitment to education?

—How the department will both reduce red tape and paperwork and at the same time ensure the necessary accountability of the recipients of federal funds?

—How a simple recommendation for an Executive-level position concerned with the issue of effective parent participation will really enhance genuine parental involvement without a mandate for enforcement?

—How the department will ensure equal access to educational opportunities and the uncompromised enforcement of civil rights mandates prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, national origin, sex, or handicaps?

Second, you have to recommit yourselves to serving *all* children well within public schools and providing the systematic leadership to enforce laws on behalf of children traditionally unserved by schools—children who are "different" because of race, language, sex, handicap, class or because they are pregnant.

The unfinished agenda of *Brown v. Board of Education* and the need for renewed and vigorous compliance efforts at the federal, state and local levels is sadly but undisputably demonstrated by the facts today:

- One Black child drops out of school for every two who graduate. Black children are more than twice as likely to be suspended from school and to receive corporal punishment in school as white children. They are three times as likely to be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded, but are less than half as likely to be placed in gifted classes as their white peers.
- One Black public school child in every three attends a school that is at least 90 percent Black. In 1970, that figure

was two out of every five. The progress has occurred almost entirely in the South and border states, where segregation was most blatant. Elsewhere, progress has been token or nonexistent. In the Midwest, for example, 39 percent of all Black children attended schools that were 99 percent Black in 1970. Today that figure is 40 percent. A Black child who moves from the South—where *Brown* has had some real impact—to the Midwest quadruples his or her chance of being in a 99 percent Black school. An absolute majority of all Black children in the Midwest are attending schools that are at least 90 percent Black.

Third, back door as well as front door policies and practices which hurt minority and poor youngsters must be weeded out. Efforts must be made to remove financial barriers like school fees, textbook rental charges, workbook costs, etc. which make it difficult for poor children to attend school and/or learn without stigma.

School discipline has to be rethought in light of the growing use of suspensions and their contributing affect to dropouts, and I think, street crime. I would urge you to promulgate and implement policies that say that children who commit attendance or disciplinary offences which do not clearly threaten the security of the school community must be kept in school. A range of disciplinary alternatives should be designed. In-service training and support for teachers in alternative ways of dealing with children should be provided.

Minimum competency and testing programs should be closely monitored for their impact on the interests of minority and low income students. The actual practices of local schools uses of such programs should receive frequent scrutiny. We will be getting into this issue in a more thoughtful way and hope we will be able to offer specific help to you as you grapple with how to ensure competency yet not victimize those denied equal educational opportunity.

Fourth, you must search for ways to improve accountability *in fact* through improved information to parents and the public; through technical assistance support for parents to enable them to join constructively with you to promote a better education for their children. You must find ways for schools to develop a broader constituency by making schools more useful to various segments of the community who now feel no stake in them. All the underutilized buildings ought to be seen as community resources—whether for after school care or programs for the aging or continuing education or job training—*but* without the need for school *control* over their operation.

Fifth, educators must encourage linkages with other child serving institutions to see that children's needs are met. The problems of special education, discipline, youth unemployment, and teenage pregnancy require your working with other service systems to see that the whole child's problems are identified and responded to.

Sixth, I urge you to set up a process for talking to and forming coalitions with others working on behalf of children. We should not be at constant loggerheads over the Office for Civil Rights survey; over the Department of Education. Why can't we sit down and share our concerns before problems arise and try to resolve them without so much ado.

SUMMARY

I want to close by explaining my view of how to change things for children over the next decade. I call it the Sojourner Truth flea theory of change. She was a slave woman who fought for freedom both as a black and as a woman. She was relentless in fighting injustice whether it was refusing to get off a whites-only trolley or in her many speeches. One day a man in an audience yelled out during one of her speeches something to the effect of "Old woman, I don't care any more about what you're saying than a flea." Sojourner snapped back, "That's alright, but the Lord willing, I'll keep you scratching."

I'm looking for a flea for children in every community in the country. Enough fleas biting can make even the biggest dog uncomfortable. If they flick some of us off but others keep coming back, we'll begin to make headway for our children.

This is the concept of CDF's new Public Policy Network for Children. I hope you will view yourselves as a part of it as we seek to build a national house of decency for all our children.